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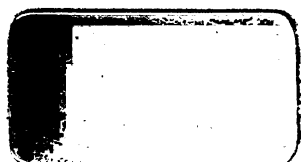
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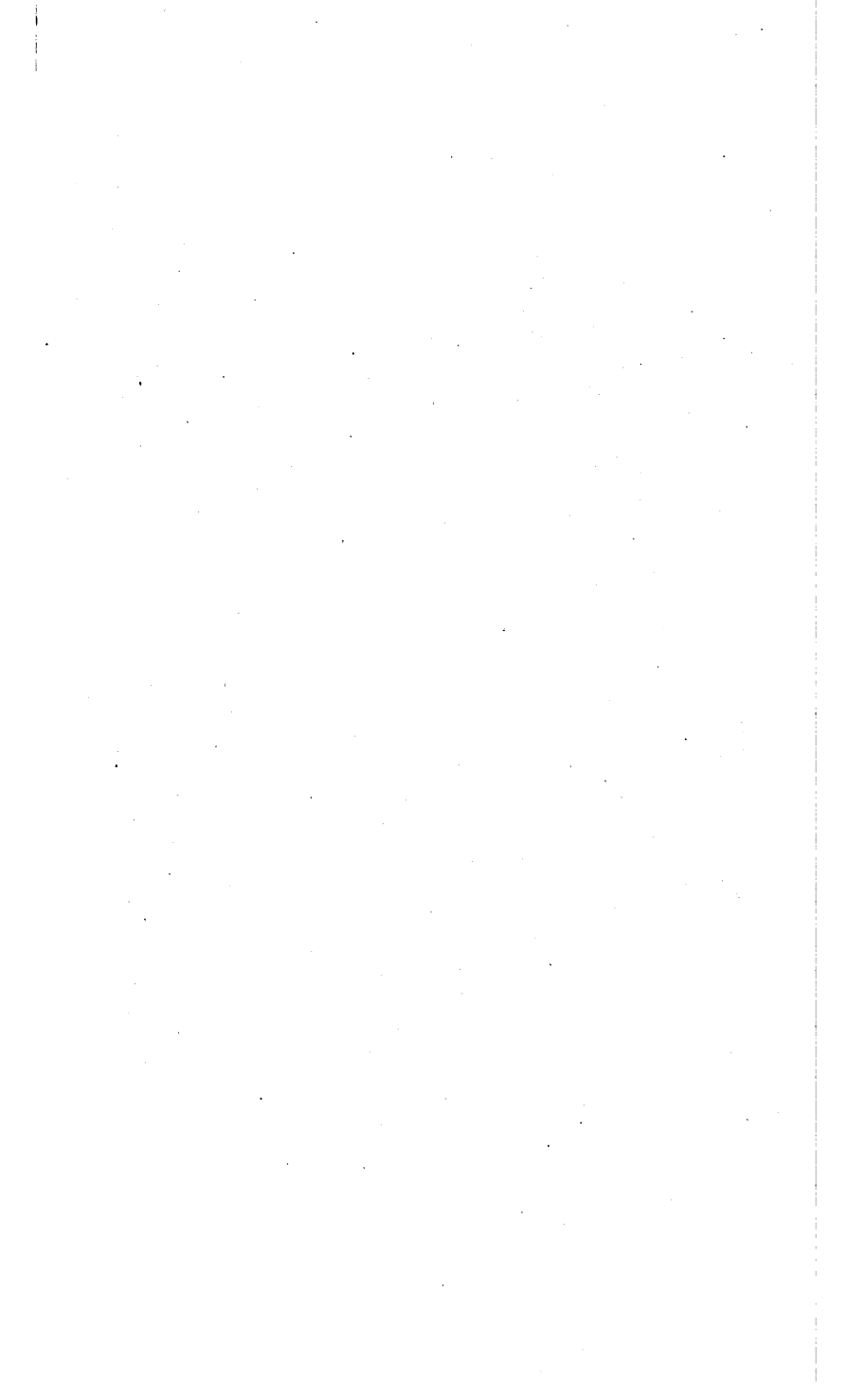
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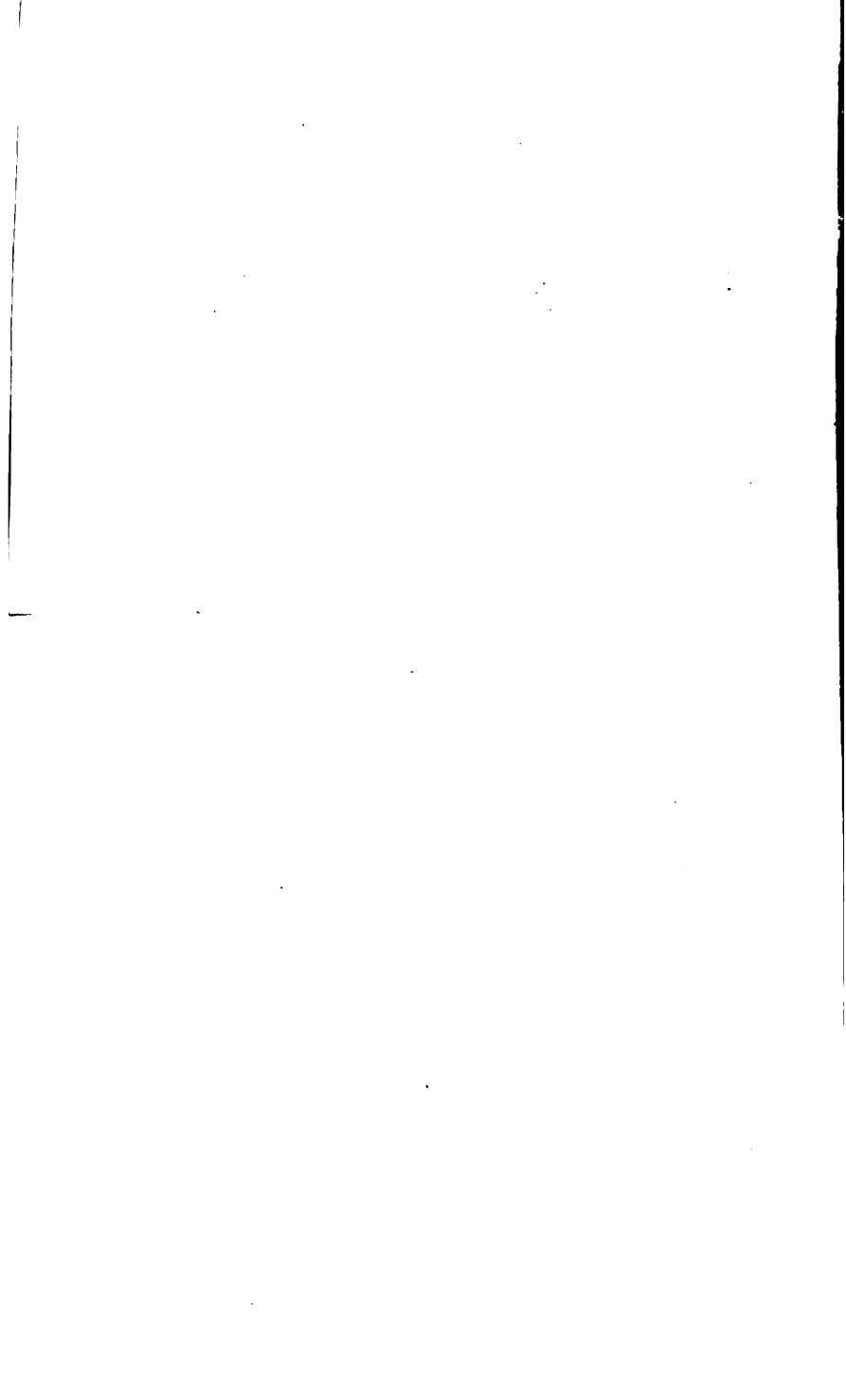
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

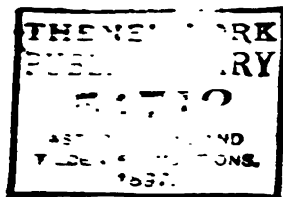
By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

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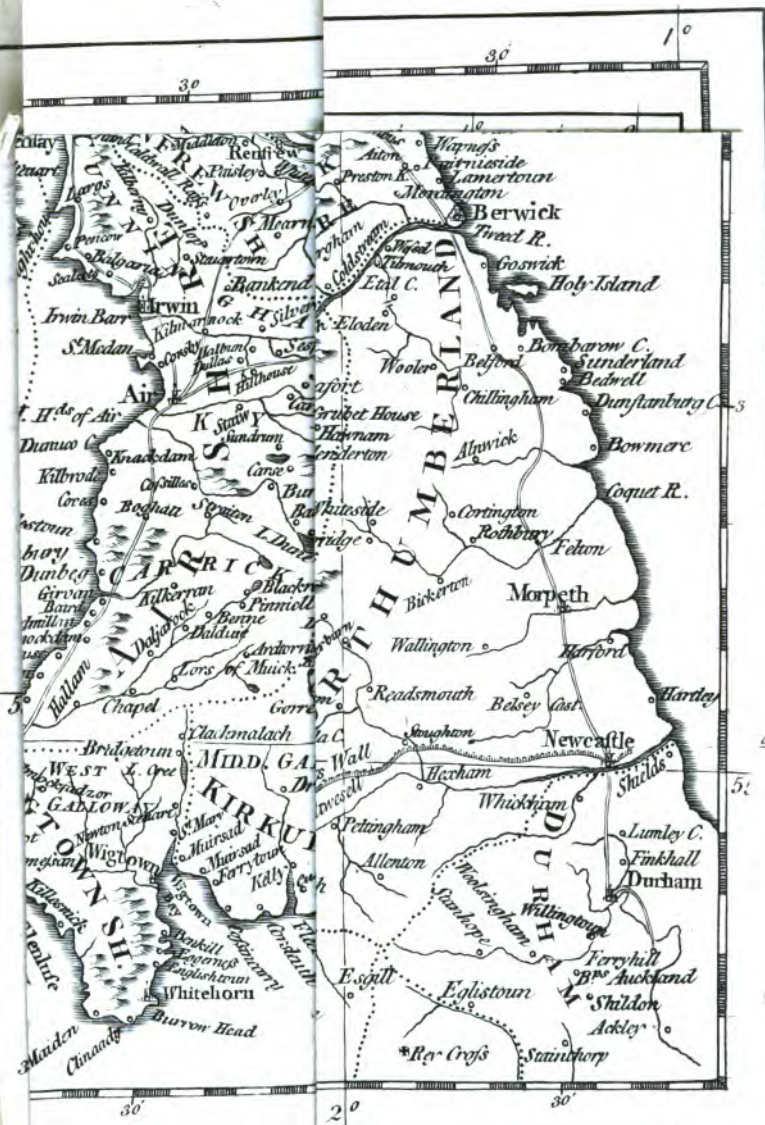


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A GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

WE may reasonably presume, that by this time the royal party had taken the field, and that the Cummins were unable to face the storm which was now ready to burst upon them; for we know of no opposition that Alexander and his queen met with on their road to Alnwick. Robert de Rofs was summoned by Henry to answer for his conduct; but throwing himself at the king's feet, Henry punished him only by the sequestration of his estate, as he did John Baliol by a severe fine, which that prince applied entirely to his own use. From the information of records we learn, that the royal pair were attended to Alnwick by the heads of their party, and that

A. D. 1250.

Alexander repairs to Alnwick,

A.D. 1250.

they agreed that Henry should, at that juncture, act as his son-in-law's guardian. We accordingly find, in Mr. Rymer's collections, a writ, by which the most obnoxious of the Scotch nobility, meaning the Cummins and their friends, were removed from the council-board, and others substituted in their places. Henry, however, to avoid giving offence to the Scots, bound himself, that what he then did never should be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of Alexander, his heirs or successors, or of the crown of Scotland. At the same time, he engaged to assist, to the utmost, the earl of Dunbar, and the other loyal noblemen we have named, by whose councils and aid the deliverance of their majesties had been effected. The great seal was given to the bishop of Dunkeld; Sir David Lindsay was made chamberlain; and Durwart, for some eminent services he had done to king Henry, had his patent for being chief justiciary of Scotland renewed for seven years.

Intrigues of
the Cum-
mins

The Cummins, all this time, were privately strengthening their party in Scotland, but outwardly appeared perfectly well satisfied with all the arrangements that had been made. This threw Alexander into a state of security; and the earl of Menteith, with a band of his followers, surprized him, while asleep, in the castle of Kinross, from whence they carried him to that of Stirling. The other conspirators
who

who joined the Cummins in this treason were, A.D. 1250.
 Sir Hugh de Abernethy, Sir David Lochore,
 and Sir Hugh de Barclay. While the rebels
 were making dispositions for restoring their
 power and influence, the whole nation was a
 scene of confusion. The great seal was forcibly
 taken from Robert Stuterville, substitute to the
 chancellor, the bishop of Dunkeld; the estates
 of the royalists were plundered; and even the
 churches were not spared. The deliverance of
 the king was owing to a passion which the earl
 of Menteith's wife had conceived for one Ro-
 bert Russel, an English gentleman, which, ac-
 cording to the Scotch histories, impelled her to
 poison her husband. Whatever may be in that,
 it is certain, that the earl died at a juncture
 very critical for Scotland; and that his death
 disconcerted all the schemes of his party, which
 never afterwards made head against the roy-
 alists. Soon after the earl's death, his widow
 married her paramour; upon which she was
 imprisoned, and accused of having been guilty of
 the above-mentioned crime. This charge never
 was proved. The Scotch writers say, that the
 countess delivered herself from prison by the help
 of money; and that she applied to the court of
 Rome for redress of the injury done her, and the
 seizure that had been made of her great for-
 tune. His holiness accordingly sent one Pon-
 cius to York, with a commission to enquire
 into the affair. Poncius summoned before him

and the
 countess of
 Menteith.

Walter

A.D. 1250. Walter Bullock (who had entered into possession of the Menteith estate, in right of his wife, who was sister to the late earl) and many of the nobility and clergy of Scotland. They pleaded, that they were exempted from answering any jurisdiction without the bounds of their own country; and the king joining with them in the same plea, the matter went no farther. The truth is, the whole of this affair seems to have been a most wicked conspiracy against the poor innocent and her second husband; for her beauty and riches appear to have been her chief crimes. Before she discovered her marriage, she had rejected the suits of some of the principal Scotch nobility, which had exasperated them to persecute her and her husband in the unmanly manner they did; for the crime with which they were charged was so far from being proved, that Bullock paid her a certain sum, to which she had a claim, when he entered upon the estate.

Balfour.

**His wisdom
and moderation.**

Alexander being thus restored to the exercise of regal authority, acted with great wisdom and moderation; for as he was now of age, he pardoned the Cummins and their adherents, upon their submitting to his authority; and he obtained thereby leisure to attend the affairs of his government. These consisted chiefly in regulating the succession to the great fees (which was then very irregular, most of them being inherited by females or their descendants) and the

the affairs of the church, which will be recounted in their proper place; but a storm was now ready to break upon Alexander from another quarter.

A. D. 1263.

Dispute
with Nor-
way.

I have already mentioned the engagements under which Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore, laid himself to the king of Norway, for assisting him in making good his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. Haquin, at this time king of Norway, alledged, that those engagements extended to Donald's delivering up the islands of Bute, Arran, and others, in the frith of Clyde, as belonging to the Ebudæ. Some negotiations for that purpose, during the reign of Alexander the second, are mentioned by Danish and Norwegian writers, but they were attended with no consequence; for Alexander, instead of yielding up the islands demanded, seemed disposed, towards the latter end of his reign, to recover those which his crown had lost. On the first of August, 1263, Haquin appeared with no fewer than an hundred and sixty ships, having on board (if we are to believe the Scotch authors) twenty thousand troops, who landed and took the castle of Aire. When the news of this invasion came to Alexander, he dispatched ambassadors to enter upon a treaty with Haquin; but the latter, flushed with success, rejected all terms, and, after making himself master of the isles of Arran and Bute, he passed over to Cunningham.

1263.

An invasion

A.D. 1263. ham. Alexander, by this time, had raised an army, which he divided under three leaders. The first division was commanded by Alexander, high-steward of Scotland, and great grand-father to him who was afterwards Robert the second, the first of the Stewartine royal line, and it consisted of the Argyle, Athol, Lenox, and Galloway men; by which we may conclude, that the patrimonial estates of the Stuar^ts lay in those countries. The second division was composed of the inhabitants of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwic, and Stirling, under the command of Patric earl of Dunbar. The king himself led the third division, which formed the center; and under him fought the inhabitants of Perthshire, Angus, Mearns, and the northern counties. Haquin, who was an excellent general, disposed his troops in like manner for battle; and it was not long before both armies met at a place called Largs. The invincible hatred of the Norwegians and Danes, which had been delivered down among the Scots from father to son, rendered the battle that followed long doubtful, and uncommonly bloody. The Norwegian cruelty was the field-word to the Scots; and at last victory declared in their favour, chiefly by the valour of the high-steward, whose troops had the most immediate interest in their defeat. After the invaders were broken, the carnage that ensued was horrible. No fewer than sixteen thousand

The Danes
defeated.

Nor-

Norwegians fell upon the spot, and five thousand Scots. Some escaped to their ships, which were so totally wrecked the day after, that it was with difficulty Haquin procured a vessel which carried him, and a few of his friends, to the Orkneys, where he soon after died of grief.

This invasion was greatly forwarded by the king of Man, by some called John, or Owen, a petty prince, who maintained a kind of independency, by giving refuge to the fugitives and pirates of the neighbouring nations. The kings of Scotland had long laid claim to the superiority of the island; and Alexander the second had offered Owen very considerable terms to detach him from the Norwegian interest, but without success. The battle of Largs seems to have decided the fate of the little island; for I perceive that it submitted at this time to Alexander, who undertook to protect it, provided its prince (for so he is called) should always have in readiness ten galleys for the service of the Scots when required. The submission of Owen had a great effect on the chiefs of the other islands belonging to the Norwegians; and Haquin's son and successor, Magnus (who, we are told, had landed in another part of Scotland, with reinforcements for his father) proposed a treaty with Alexander. Magnus, according to the testimony of all historians, was a wise and a learned

Treaty for
the Ebræ
islands.

Regulus.

A.D. 1263. signed at Roxburgh; but the consummation of the marriage did not take place till some years after. Scotland having thus recovered some degree of tranquility, Alexander had leisure to reward such of his great land-holders as had served him well in his war with the Norwegians. In an ancient fragment of a chronicle, which a certain biographer says belonged formerly to the abbey of Icolm-kill, mention is made of Walter Stuart, earl of Carric and March, the thane of Argyle (for so he is called) Robert de London, John de Strivelin, Walter Cummin, Thomas Malliber, and Colin Fitzgerald. The latter was a young Irishman, but descended from an illustrious English family, "who the year before being driven out of his native country (in a quarrel which belongs to the history of Ireland) had taken service under Alexander, who had received him kindly, and employed him about his person *." This Fitzgerald had behaved so bravely at the battle of Largs, and against the islanders, that Alexander rewarded him with the lands of Kintail; and from his son Kenneth are descended the Mac Kenneths or Mac Kenzies, a noble and a numerous clan in Scotland. From this instance and many others it appears, that the communications between Scotland and Ireland were

Dr. Mac
Kenzie's
Lives of the
Scotch
writers.

* *Peregrinus & Hibernus, nobilis ex familia Giraldinorum, qui proximo anno ab Hibernia pulsus, apud regem benigne acceptus, hujusque in curia permansit, & in prefato praelio strenue pugnavit.*

then

then more frequent than is generally imagined. A. D. 1263.
 The similarity of names and language (for I apprehend that all Scotland north of Forth still made use of the Gaelic tongue) might render those intercourses the less observed by ancient historians, as they appeared, in some sense, to be one people; but Fitzgerald being of an English family, is particularly distinguished.

In 1264, I find that the earls of Buchan and Mar, with Allen Durwart, were sent with an army to reduce the inhabitants of the newly ceded islands, who probably refused to submit to Alexander; and that they proceeded with great severity, by putting some to the sword, and transplanting others to different habitations. 1264.
The Ebudes reduced.
 The same year Roger de Quincy, who was earl of Winchester, and great constable of Scotland, in right of his mother, eldest daughter of Alan, lord of Galloway, died, and his great estate was divided among his three daughters. This year is likewise distinguished for the death of Nicholas de Soules, who was descended from another great English family, and who, Balfour says, was the wisest and most eloquent man then in Scotland. In the same year I find Alexander at Scone, where he knighted the earl of Athol, Colban, son to the earl of Fife, and several other noblemen. But I am now to return to Alexander's affairs with England, which I have postponed, in order to keep them the more entire.

A.D. 1264.

Affairs between
Alexander
and the
king of
England.

In August 1256, Alexander and his queen received an invitation from Henry to repair to his court, which they did with three hundred horse in their retinue. Their entertainment was sumptuous beyond expression; and Henry, the more to engage Alexander to his person, granted him a full investiture of the earldom of Huntingdon, with the same rights that any of his predecessors had enjoyed. While Alexander and his queen remained with Henry, the sheriff of Northamptonshire had been guilty of a felony that deserved the gallows, to which he was condemned; but he was saved by his wife's application to the king and queen of Scotland, who prevailed upon Henry to pardon him, contrary to the opinion of the most respectable noblemen about his court. Soon after the return of Alexander to Scotland, the dissensions between Henry and his barons, headed by the famous Simon de Montfort, came to a crisis; and both parties prepared to take the field. Henry, on this occasion, applied to his son-in-law for assistance; but matters were compromised for that time. Alexander's queen was then pregnant; and perhaps both she and her father were desirous that she should be delivered in England. The nobility of Scotland were uneasy at this circumstance; and Henry endeavoured to satisfy them, by passing the most ample instruments, promising that Alexander should not, during his abode

Rymer.

abode in England, be desired to treat of any matters relating to his crown; that he should be at liberty to carry back his queen whenever he thought proper; and, if she was delivered in England, that both she and the child should be disposed of according to Alexander's directions; nay, that if Alexander himself should die, that the child should be delivered into the hands of the Scotch nobility: all which conditions were punctually fulfilled by Henry. He even (according to the English historians) exceeded in his generosity to the king and queen of Scotland. Alexander availed himself of the great privileges which had been granted to his predecessors, as independent sovereigns in their own country, but the first subjects in England. The magnificence of his entertainment and accommodations in his journey to Woodstock, where Henry's court was then held, was astonishing; and he accepted not only of the honours but of his daily appointment of five pounds, as due to him by right, rather than owing to the politeness and affection of his father-in-law. In a record published by Rymer I perceive, that the farther the Scotch queen's pregnancy advanced, the more jealous were the Scotch nobility of her remaining in England. Henry therefore, to make them easy, agreed to a new deed, in which the names of the Scotch noblemen, to whom the child, in case of Alexander's death, was to be de-

A. D. 1264.

Rymer,
p. 715.

A. D. 1264.

delivered up, were specified; and this deed was not only confirmed by the oaths of Henry's brother, the king of the Romans, and other great noblemen, but Henry engaged to procure that of his son prince Edward. Henry likewise punctually observed all those additional engagements. The queen was delivered in England; and she, with her husband, returned to Scotland in the same honourable manner they had left it.

Behaviour
of the Scots
at the battle
of Lewes.

The differences between Henry and his barons soon after this becoming irreconcilable, both parties took the field; and Alexander sent to his father's aid five thousand men, under the command of Robert de Bruce and Alexander Cumming. They served at the taking of Northampton, where Henry obtained a victory by their assistance; and, at the battle of Lewes, in the division commanded by Henry in person. Montfort, one of the best generals of the age, had made such a disposition of his troops as he knew would induce prince Edward to attack the Londoners, of whom he had privately a very contemptible opinion. The prince, as he had foreseen, imagining that the flower of the barons' army consisted of the Londoners, engaged and routed them. While Edward was engaged in the pursuit, Montfort, putting himself at the head of his choicest troops, made a most dreadful impression upon the division headed by Henry. His
great

great object was to take him prisoner, together with his brother; and, in defending them almost all the Scots were cut in pieces; upon which Henry surrendered himself to Montfort, as his brother did to the earl of Gloucester. Cumming, who that day commanded the Scots, was likewise taken prisoner, as was Bruce and many other Scotch noblemen of great rank, who were sent to different prisons. Upon the quarrel which succeeded between Montfort and the earl of Gloucester, prince Edward, who had been likewise taken prisoner, obtained his liberty; and when he defeated the former at the battle of Evesham, all the Scots were released from their confinement.

A. D. 1264.

During the war between Henry and his barons, Alexander carefully watched over the northern parts of England; and even after the battle of Lewes was gained, and Montfort was master of the rest of the kingdom, he and Robert Baliol preserved the northern fortresses against all the power of the rebellious barons. The court of Rome, ever attentive to its own interests, imagined this to be a proper occasion for extending its influence over Scotland. It happened that Alexander, who had a just sense of the civil as well as religious independency of his people, at this time held the balance between the great nobles and the ecclesiastics of his kingdom. The latter had been enriched beyond measure by the piety of for-

Negotiations with the pope.

A.D. 1264. mer kings, who had been of opinion that their vast munificence to ecclesiastics tended to polish and improve their laity. In a few instances, perhaps, it did; but the clergy in general, by being rich, became sensual, proud, and ignorant. Those qualities exposed them at once to the derision and hatred of the nobility. The clergy complained to the king, who gave them no redress; on which they threatened to apply to the court of Rome. Alexander represented to his nobles the miseries which Henry the second and the kingdom of England had suffered through the influence of their clergy with his holiness; and, for some time, he prevented matters from going to extremes. Ottoboni, the pope's legate in England, did not let so favourable an opportunity slip. Being afraid to trust his person in Scotland, he summoned the Scotch clergy to attend him by their proctors in England; and he intended to exact four marks of silver from every parish, and six from every cathedral church in Scotland. The clergy had very little notion of such contributions, though they were frequent and excessive in all the neighbouring kingdoms. They had so few connections with the pope's court, that they considered him, in temporal matters, as a foreign power. They looked upon extraordinary contributions paid to him, through his legates or agents, as oppressive, because they tended to diminish their
own

own riches. They applied to Alexander, whom they found disposed to their wishes, and Ottoni's demands were rejected. Upon his leaving England, where he had collected great sums, he was succeeded by another legate, who preached up a crusade, the most popular subject then in being. He pretended, like his predecessor, that his commission extended to Scotland as well as England; but Alexander sent him a message, forbidding him to set foot on his dominions, though at the same time he promised to contribute both in men and money to the crusade. Whatever Alexander's private opinion might have been, with regard to crusades, it is certain, that he would have found it difficult, if not dangerous, to have checked the public fondness for them at that time, and the earls of Carric and Athol were permitted to carry out some men and money to the Holy-Land; but the former perished by the sword or sickness, and the latter dissipated his trust in idleness and extravagance.

The Scotch historians have fixed the year 1270, as the period when Lewis king of France formed a guard of an hundred Scots for his person. It is said, to the honour of Scotland, that at the time I treat of, a Scotchman was only another word for 'Fidelity.' Some writers pretend, that this guard had been formed so far back as the year 883, when it consisted only of twenty men. Perhaps the good faith which

1270.
Institution
of the
Scotch
guards in
France.

A.D. 1272.

Alexander and his predecessors had observed towards the English, their natural enemies, gave the rest of Europe a high opinion of their virtues; nor is the name of the Scotch guard, even to this day, entirely abrogated in France. It is, at the same time, a melancholy truth, that the confidence, whether affected or real, reposed by the kings of France in the Scots, was fatal to the latter. They thought they never could over-do in their returns of gratitude and affection to princes who had thus gloriously distinguished them. They thereby involved themselves in difficulties which more than once brought them to the brink of destruction, as may be seen in the subsequent part of this history.

Dispute between the earl of Athol and John Cumming.

About this time, a controversy happened between David Hastings, earl of Athol, and John Cumming, concerning the castle of Blair, which the latter pretended had been built to his prejudice. The matter being referred to the king, Hastings was obliged to pay five hundred marks to Cumming, by way of indemnification for the castle. This dispute seems to have happened while the earl of Athol was abroad upon the crusade; for I find that this year, or the year before, he died at Tunis, as did the earl of Carric at Acon. The daughter of the latter, being countess of Carric in her own right, was married to Robert de Bruce the younger, and by her he became earl of Carric,

Ac-

According to Fordun, the lady fell in love with Bruce at a hunting match, and carried him off, by a gentle violence, to her castle of Turnberry, where they were privately married without the king's consent. As she was a ward of the crown, the marriage no sooner became public, than Alexander seized her castle and all her estate; but by the intervention of friends, and the payment of a sum of money, the affair was compromised, and Bruce was taken into favour. This Bruce was the father of king Robert the first of that name.

A.D. 1272

In the year 1273, Alexander had an interview with the king of England, for settling some matters of property among their subjects, who were now so blended by intermarriages, that the discussion of their claims became very difficult, because of the different constitutions and modes of succession in the two kingdoms. Malcolm Canmore and his successors seem to have had a strong bias towards introducing English families into the great fiefs of Scotland, in order to balance the ferocious dispositions of the islanders and the Highland clans. The English were fond of such acquisitions, which generally happened by marriage, because they became thereby more powerful and independent. This policy, however, afterwards operated fatally, when, by a train of unexpected and disastrous events, the liberties of Scotland were almost extinguished by Edward the

1273.
Connections between
England and Scotland.

A. D. 1279. the first. Next year, died Margaret queen of Scotland; and her death was followed by that of the famous Allen Durwart, who left three daughters, co-heiresses of his estates. The history of Scotland affords few matters of importance after this, till the year 1279, when David, Alexander's second son, died. His death afterwards proved a heavy blow to Scotland.

1280. Next year, prince Alexander, the king's eldest son, was married with great pomp to the daughter of the earl of Flanders. The year after, the lady Margaret, Alexander's eldest daughter, who had been betrothed to the king of Norway, took shipping for that country with a great retinue. A ship, in which was Sir Bernard Mouat, and about thirty other persons of distinction, was wrecked, and they returned to Scotland.

1281.

Henry the third of England, the father and friend of Alexander, was now dead, and succeeded by his son, Edward the first, who afterwards proved the scourge of Scotland. Edward, upon his return from the Holy-Land, where he was at the time of his father's death, was crowned; and Alexander, with all his family, was present at the ceremony. Soon after he received the crown, Alexander paid him his homage for his English estates, and particularly (says Fordun) for the lands and lordships of Penreth, and other estates, which the late Henry had given to Alexander in marriage with

with his daughter. Alexander proved an excellent ally to Edward in his wars against the French; and Edward passed a charter, by which he acknowledged, that Alexander's services in those wars were not in consequence of his holding lands in England, but as an ally to his crown. In the parliament which was held at Westminster in 1278, Alexander was present, as the first peer of England; and I perceive, that, at this time, Edward had formed pretensions upon a paramount power to the crown of Scotland. This appears from a salvo which he inserted in the charter, acknowledging the superiority, by which he reserved his right to the homage of the kingdom of Scotland, when it should be claimed by him or his heirs. The bishop of Norwich, who was to administer the oath, suggested that salvo; and this was the reason why Alexander would not perform the homage in person, but left it to be paid by Robert Bruce, earl of Carric, Alexander standing by, and expressly declaring, that it was only paid for the lands he held in England. It must be acknowledged, that this was an extraordinary proceeding; but we are to remember that Alexander was at this time in Edward's power.

In 1283 died Alexander prince of Scotland, in the twentieth year of his age, at the castle of Stirling. Soon after, four Flemish knights arrived in Scotland, and, with the king's permission, carried back his eldest son's widow

1283.
Death of
prince
Alexander.

to

A. D. 1283. to her father, the earl of Flanders. His death was followed in a month after by that of his sister, the queen of Norway, who left an only daughter, Margaret, scarcely a year old, by her husband, king Haquin.

This infant princess being the only remains of Alexander's progeny, his nobility and the states of his kingdom solemnly addressed him to marry. He gave way to their instances, and dispatched as his ambassadors to France his lord-chancellor of Scotland, Sir Patrick Graham, Sir William St. Clair, and Sir John de Soulis, to demand in marriage Joletta, daughter to the count of Dreux; to whom he was accordingly married, immediately upon her arrival in Scotland. About this time, the king of Norway, after the death of his queen, sent a solemn embassy to Scotland, to demand a revenue of seven hundred marks a year, which had been eventually settled by the marriage-contract upon young Margaret, the issue of their Norwegian majesties. Alexander received the ambassadors with great politeness, paid their demand, loaded them with presents, and dismissed them, with an ambassador of his own, to his son-in-law. This seems to have been the last public act of this excellent prince's life; for he soon after was killed, while hunting, by his horse rushing down a high precipice, since called the Black Rock, near Kinghorn, on the nineteenth of March, 1285, in the forty-fifth year

Fordon.

and his
father.

1285.

year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

A. D. 1285.

Alexander the third, if we consider the times in which he lived, must be acknowledged to have been a prince of extraordinary virtues and abilities. No king ever pursued more effectual measures than he did to reclaim his subjects from the feudal barbarities. He divided his kingdom into four circuits, which he yearly visited. Instead of his great lords, he ordered the sheriffs of the counties to attend him with a number of men; and thus he was always ready to execute justice in a summary, but legal, manner. He discouraged idleness, and limited the number of horses to be kept by his noblemen, on pretence of preserving the corn for the use of the poor. He regulated the affairs of commerce so, that Scotland was, in his time, considered as a trading country; and he died to the universal regret of his subjects, who foresaw the dreadful consequences of his untimely fate.

Character
of Alex-
ander,

At the time of Alexander's death, the Scots were acquiring a new character. They cultivated connections with the continent. They had got rid of many prejudices and prepossessions with regard to government; and we may venture to say that they were, at that time, a far more civilized people than either the English or the French. This undoubtedly was owing to the moderation of their princes,

and his
people.

A.D. 1285. who never broke into the great barriers of public liberty. Their succession was regulated, and their kings knew the secret of preserving the balance between their great land-holders and their tenants. Disputes with the see of Rome, which were the sources of all the calamities in their neighbouring countries, were unknown in Scotland; and this we can attribute only to the liberal disposition of the people, who took care to avoid that spiritual tyranny, which rendered all the nations round them slaves.

The death of Alexander, however, is a fatal æra in our history. He left behind him no principle of union that could prevent the return of that ferocious disposition to which the feudal constitutions are too much attached; and however well-intentioned his nobility might be, their jealousy of one another, and the precarious state of the succession to their crown, disabled them, as we shall see in the succeeding part of this work, from providing for the exigencies of government with proper efficacy and authority.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.
BOOK THE FIFTH.

From the Death of ALEXANDER
the THIRD, to the Accession of
JAMES the FIRST; being a
Period of an Hundred and Twenty-nine
Years.

THE flourishing state of Scotland at the
time of Alexander the third's death, next
to the wise administration of her late kings, was
owing (as has been mentioned) to the people's
spirit in maintaining their independency upon
the court of Rome, a glory which no other
nation in Europe could then boast of. The
papal yoke was so galling, and the crusading ex-
peditions at once so prevailing and ruinous, that
Germany, France, and England, were at that
time not only enslaved but depopulated. Ed-

A. D. 1284.
Margaret.

State of
Scotland.

A.D. 1285.

ward the first, one of the wisest but most enterprising princes of his age, had early reasons to bewail the desolation of his country from those causes; and it is not surprizing that he should cast a wishful eye on a country, far happier than his own, and to which his predecessors had always kept up some claim of superiority. His numerous concerns on the continent contributed to his passion for rendering Scotland a province to England; for he found the Scotch interest not a little prevalent at foreign courts, especially that of France; but I shall at present confine myself to the immediate transactions between the two kingdoms.

The succession
settled.

The great subjects of Scotland, both before and after the time of Alexander's unhappy death, appear, from all their proceedings, to have been fully sensible that Edward would attempt to annex their crown to that of England. Upon the marriage of Margaret, queen of Norway, consort of king Eric, the states of Scotland passed an act, obliging themselves to receive her and her heirs as queen and sovereigns of Scotland. Edward was then in no condition to oppose this measure, in which the Scots were so unanimous, that he thought proper to dissemble his disquiet, and to endeavour to form a faction among their nobles. We accordingly find him supplying one of their greatest men, Bruce, lord of Annandale, with money, and giving subsidies to the king of Norway,

way, and other northern courts, who were in perpetual want of his assistance. Under pretence of resuming the cross, he renewed his intrigues at the court of Rome, and demanded from the pope a bull for leave to collect the tenths in Scotland; but his holiness said he could make no such grant, without consent of the government of Scotland. Upon the death of Margaret queen of Norway, her daughter, in consequence of the act I have mentioned, was recognized by the states as queen of Scotland, on the eleventh of April following. As she was then but two years old, the Scots, in the same assembly, came to a resolution of excluding from the affairs of their government not only Edward the first, but their queen's father; and they accordingly established a regency from their own number, consisting of the six following noblemen: Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow; Sir James Cumming, of Badenoch, elder; James, lord high-steward of Scotland; who were to have the superintendency of all that part of Scotland which lay to the south of the Forth; William Frazer, bishop of St. Andrew's; Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife; and Alexander Cumming, earl of Buchan; who were to have the direction of all affairs to the north of the same river*.

A. D. 1285.

Rymer.

Ibid.
p. 174.

* The seal made use of by this regency represented on one side the arms of Scotland, round which is read, SIGILLUM SCOTIÆ DEPUTATUM REGIMINI REGNI. The reverse represents

A. D. 1285.
Divisions in
Scotland.

Those arrangements could not fail to give great disgust to Eric, who considered himself as the undoubted guardian of his own child and her interests; and we find him early cultivating a correspondence with Edward, to concert the means of shaking the new government, into which Edward easily entered. In this they were greatly assisted by the death of the earl of Buchan, and the murder of the brave earl of Fife, two of the wisest as well as the greatest men of the kingdom. The steward of Scotland thought to supply their loss by forming connections with the earl of Gloucester, the most

sents St. Andrew stretched upon his cross, to which he is bound by fillets, or ropes, round his wrists and ancles, with the following inscription:

ANDREAS SCOTIS DUX EST ET COMPATRIOTIS.

It may be proper here to observe in general, that the use of seals with coats of arms, or devices, were but little known either in England or Scotland, before the reign of Malcolm Canmore. The Saxon kings and great noblemen, as well as the Scotch, had commonly no other signature than the sign of the cross, and their names were inserted, either as principals or witnesses, by the writer of the deed or charter, who is called the notary. A seal is extant of Duncan the second, son to Malcolm, in which he is represented armed and on horseback; but in the body of his charters he and his great men subscribe only by their crosses. The use of a counter-seal, or a seal with two faces, was not known till the reign of Alexander the first. Edgar, who succeeded Duncan, altered the form of this seal, as I have related in another place; but the two swords there mentioned is thought by some to be a royal throne, and a small square under his feet plainly denotes a foot-stool. This seal is as strong a sign of sovereignty and independency as any archives in Europe can produce. Edgar seems to have borrowed the title of Basileus from Edward the Confessor, who made use of it.

powerful subject in England (but at that time dissatisfied with Edward) and the earl of Ulster in Ireland; while the bishop of Dunkeld was chosen to supply the earl of Fife's place in the northern division. Both the English and Scotch historians pretend, but I think without the authority of records, that when the first assembly of the states was held, an ambassador appeared from Edward, and proposed a match between his son and their queen. This account seems to be premature, and the true state of the transaction appears to be as follows.

Eric, or, as the Scotch historians call him, Haguenon, was under considerable pecuniary engagements to Edward; and perceiving that the states of Scotland were unanimous in the exclusion of all foreigners from the management of their affairs, he naturally fell in with Edward's views, and named commissioners for treating with those of England upon the affairs of Scotland. It does not appear that the Scots knew any thing of this negotiation, which terminated in a treaty of marriage between the queen of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, young as they both were. This was a delicate point, and both kings proceeded as if they had foreseen the government of Scotland would not suffer their queen to be disposed of in marriage without their consent. It was agreed by the commissioners of the two kings, to acquaint the states of Scotland with the

A. D. 1285.

Negotiation
between
Eric and
Edward,Rymer vol.
II. p. 426.

A.D. 1285. the result of their conferences, and to demand that a deputation should be sent up for settling the regency of Scotland, or, in other words, for putting it into the hands of the two kings. According to a letter (the authenticity of which we cannot doubt) from pope Boniface to Edward, the latter applied to the holy see for a dispensation, the two parties being first-cousins; which was accordingly granted, but with a proviso that the peers of Scotland should agree to the match.

about Margaret's marriage.

As the independency of their crown was the great object of the states, they could not refuse to treat of a marriage agreed to by their queen's two nearest relations, her father and her grand-uncle. They therefore appointed the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, and Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Cumming, to attend as their deputies, with full powers; but with a salvo to all the liberties and honours of the realm of Scotland, to which Edward agreed *. These deputies met

* This we learn from the words of the pope's letter, which are very strong. "Tu eisdem proceribus per tua scripta cavisse dinosceris, priusquam vellent hujusmodi matrimonio consentire, quod regnum ipsum penitus liberum, nullique subiectum seu quovismodo submissum, in perpetuum remaneret. Quodque in pristinum seu talem ejus statum restitueretur omnino, si ex hujus modi matrimonio contrahendo liberos non extare contingeret, ac nomen & honorem, ut prius, pariter retineret tam in suis sibi observandis legibus, & perficiendis officialibus dicti regni, quam parliamentis tenendis, & tractandis causis in ipsis, & nullis ejus incolis extra illud ad judicium evocandis, prout in tuis literis patentibus inde confectis plenius contineri dinoscitur.

with

with those of England and Norway at Salisbury. A. D. 1239.
 The English commissioners were the bishops of Worcester and Durham, with the earls of Pembroke and Warren. Without too large an indulgence of conjecture, I must be of opinion, that the Scots were over-matched in this negotiation. Whatever might be the patriotism of the two ecclesiastics, it is certain, that the two lay-deputies had many temptations for attaching themselves to Edward, who dictated the terms of the negotiation. Little or no notice was taken of the proposed marriage, because the dispensation was not yet arrived from Rome; but Edward's management was such, that he brought the Scotch deputies to agree,

First, That the young queen should, before the feast of All Saints, be sent (free of all marriage engagements) into England or Scotland. Terms agreed to.
 The Norwegian ambassadors undertook for the execution of this article.

Secondly, That if the queen came to England, she should be at liberty to repair to Scotland, as soon as the distractions of that kingdom were settled; that she should, on her arrival in her own dominions, be free of all matrimonial contracts; but that the Scots should engage not to dispose of her in marriage without her father's or Edward's consent.

Thirdly, The Scotch deputies promised to give such security as the Norwegian commis-

A. D. 1288.

tioners should require; that the tranquility of the nation should be resettled before her arrival there, where she might reside safely as lady, queen, and heirs of Scotland.

1289.

Fourthly, The commissioners of Scotland and Norway, joined with commissioners from England, should remove such regents and officers of state in Scotland as should be suspected of disaffection, and place others in their stead. If the Scotch and Norwegian commissioners should disagree on that, or any other, head, relating to the government of Scotland, the decision was to be left to the arbitration of the English commissioners. This agreement was dated and executed at Salisbury, the sixth of November, 1289. Two copies of it were given in French to the Scotch and English commissioners, and one in Latin to those of Norway.

Insincerity
of the ne-
gociation.

It is evident, from the terms of this agreement, that notwithstanding the plausible pretexts with regard to the young queen's safety and independency, the whole tendency of it was to transfer the government of Scotland into Edward's hands; and that his commissioners acted in concert with those of Norway. It appears, from the words of the agreement, that the Scots were then in a ferment concerning the disposal of their queen; and there can scarcely be a doubt of it by the party which Edward had in the country. Were any argument wanting to convince the reader of the in-

insincerity of this negociation, the engagements which Edward entered into with the commissioners of the two crowns, to give the young queen handsome entertainment when she should be put into his hands, would be sufficient. In fact, the alternative of her landing in Scotland, or, if she landed in England, to be sent thither without matrimonial engagements, were merely matters of form; because the pope's dispensation for the marriage between her and young Edward, is dated on the fourteenth of the same month.

A. D. 1289.

Edward had by this time formed so strong a faction in Scotland, that no opposition was made to the late agreement in a parliament (for that word was then made use of in Scotland) held at Brechin, to deliberate upon the settlement of the kingdom. It appears, that the Scotch deputies resided still in England, and that Edward had intimated to the regency of Scotland, that he intended, either in person, or by his commissioners, to interpose in their public affairs. It is uncertain whether he communicated the dispensation in form to the Scotch parliament; but most probably he did not, because, in a letter they wrote to him at this time, they mention it as an affair they heard by report; but, upon the whole, they highly approved of the marriage upon certain conditions, to which Edward was previously to agree. In the mean time, they dispatched a public

Proceedings of the Scots.

A. D. 1289. lic letter to Norway, informing Eric of their consenting to the match, and even desiring him to send their queen directly to England, upon the conditions above-mentioned. Edward now thought that he had surmounted all difficulties with regard to the match; and, without making any mention of the conditions, he ordered the bishop of Durham, as his ambassador to Norway, to inform Eric of the consent of the Scotch nobility, and to demand the young queen for his son.

Edward
demands
their young
queen.

Eric, perhaps, was not pleased with a demand which put the person and interests of his daughter absolutely into the hands of another prince, whose sincerity he had reason to suspect, from his concealment of the proposed conditions. He therefore very wisely shifted off the delivery of the queen till he should hear farther from Scotland.

This delay alarmed Edward, who was so solicitous for the match, that he had undertaken, under a penalty to the Scots, that Eric should send their queen to England, or give security to do it, before the feast of All Saints following. His difficulties were increased, when the Scotch deputies presented him with the instructions which had been transmitted to them from their parliament, and which tended, as the reader will see hereafter, to put the independency of Scotland on a permanent foundation. Edward pretended, that the powers

ers of the Scotch commissioners were too limited for concluding so weighty an affair; and in hopes of disuniting the parliament, which was still sitting at Brechin, he sent thither the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, with the earls of Warren and Lincoln, Sir William de Vescy, and Henry de Newark, dean of York, to act as his commissioners. Here the conditions which were to be agreed to, previous to the marriage, were exhibited, and they are as follow:

First, That the Scots should enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both ecclesiastical and civil. But there is an ambiguous, and indeed an insidious, salvo, which was, saving the rights of the king of England, or any other person, on the marches, or elsewhere.

*Demands
of the
Scots.*

Secondly, That if Edward and Margaret shall die, without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom shall revert intire, free, absolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir. To this and the subsequent articles no salvos were added.

Thirdly, That, in case of the death of prince Edward, without issue of the body of Margaret, her majesty's person shall be remitted in like manner, free and independent, to Scotland.

Fourthly, That no person, either ecclesiastic or laic, shall be compelled to go out of the kingdom; to ask leave either to elect, or present their elects;

A. D. 1289. elects; nor to do homage, fealty, and services; nor to prosecute law-suits; nor, in a word, to perform aught usually performed in Scotland.

Fifthly, That the kingdom of Scotland shall have its chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature, &c. as before; and that a new seal shall be made and kept by the chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

Sixthly, That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, shall be lodged in some secure place within the kingdom, at the sight of the nobility, whose seals shall be appended to them; and there kept till either the queen shall return to her own kingdom, or shall have heirs to succeed her.

Seventhly, That parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the state or inhabitants of Scotland, shall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

Eighthly, That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland, but such as, being usual in former times, shall consist with the common interest and good of the nation.

Ninthly, That the king of England shall oblige himself, and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable to the

the church of Rome, in aid to the Holy Land, A.D. 1229, to make restitution of the kingdom in the cases aforesaid; and that he shall consent that the pope restrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the foresaid restriction, and payment of the said sum of money, if he or they do not stand to the premises.

Lastly, That Edward, at his own charges, shall procure the pope to confirm these articles within a year after the consummation of the marriage, and that, within the same time, the bull of his holiness shall be delivered to the community (that is, the barons and prelates) of the kingdom of Scotland.

Such were the *pacta conventa*, as they may be called, which the states of Scotland laid down previous to the marriage of their queen with young Edward. They were agreed to by the English commissioners on the 18th of July, and ratified by Edward on the 28th of August following. When the whole of this transaction is considered, perhaps no people in history can be found who took more just and wise precautions, than the Scots did, to secure and perpetuate their independency. I may add, that the above articles are drawn up as if they had foreseen the claims that were to be made upon it by Edward. What the event might have been had the marriage taken place is difficult to pronounce; perhaps it might have been happy for both kingdoms,

Reflections
upon the
above ar-
ticles.

A. D. 1289. doms, and such a union as subsists now between them might have taken place. It is indeed impossible to ascertain what the secret views of Edward might be, even when he ratified those articles; and I cannot help thinking, from the insidious salvo already taken notice of, and several other circumstances, that he had certain reservations in his mind which might terminate in his introducing into Scotland a nearer similarity to the English feudal law, so as to have brought the Scots to consent to escuages and other military services, and to have fought the quarrels of England upon the continent. A prince of his great sagacity, without some such view, would not have expended the immense sums he did in forming a party among the Scots, even after the affair of the marriage was settled.

English
party in

At the head of this party, were the bishop of St. Andrew's and John Baliol. That prelate, while he was in England, was highly cared for by Edward, from whom he had vast expectations of preferment; and Baliol, on account of his great English estates, considered the latter as his sovereign. Upon the bishop's return to Scotland, he acted as a spy for Edward, and carried on with him a secret correspondence, informing him of all public transactions. From his letters it appears, that the Scots, notwithstanding Edward's ratification of the above articles, were far from being unanimous as to the marriage.

Bruce

A. D. 1292.

Bruce earl of Annandale had a fuspicion that the young queen was dead, but from what it arofe does not appear. It is however certain, that when the parliament met at Perth, foon after Michaelmas 1290, Bruce affembled a body of men, and was joined by the earls of Mar and Athol; and all of them continued in arms, but without any public declaration of their designs. Intelligence was fent of thofe commotions to Edward by the bifhop of St. Andrew's. Baliol himfelf was the meffenger, and the perfidious prelate advifed Edward, in cafe the report of the queen's death fhould prove true, to march a body of troops towards the frontiers of Scotland, to fupport the direction which he had obtained in that kingdom by the late conventions, and to fecure to himfelf the nomination, upon his own terms, of a fucceffor to that crown.

In the mean time, Edward thinking that the marriage of the young queen with his fon would certainly take place, and that thereby the government of Scotland would be thrown into his own hands, did not oppofe the fending Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Wemys as ambaffadors from the Scotch parliament to bring home their queen at the national expence. Previous to this, Edward appointed the bifhop of Durham to be lieutenant in Scotland for the queen and her future husband; and all the officers there, both civil and military, obliged themfelves to furrender their employments and fortreffes to

Embaffa-
dors fent
to Den-
mark.

A. D. 1290. the king and queen, that is to Edward, upon their arrival in Scotland. This was an engagement to which even the most degenerated among them cannot be supposed to have agreed, but upon the supposition that the precautions they had taken to secure the independency of their country would be valid. Edward, in consequence of the bishop of St. Andrew's advice, was preparing to follow the bishop of Durham in person; but his queen dying on the road, a stop was, for some time, put to his journey.

Death of
the young
queen of
Scotland.

The preparations for receiving the queen were for that age and country magnificent. The English ambassadors, attended by the chief of the Scotch nobility, were setting out for the north to receive her, when certain intelligence of her death arrived; but it is uncertain whether it happened before the arrival of the ambassadors in Norway, or in her voyage from thence, in one of the Orkney islands, on which she had been driven by stress of weather. I am inclined to believe the former, and that Bruce had received his intelligence before the certainty of it was known to the government. She was not fully eight years of age at the time of her death, nor was she ever inaugurated; and therefore the Scotch historians have generally omitted her name in the catalogue of their sovereigns. I have however admitted it, because her right of succession was acknowledged and secured by the

the most binding acts that any constitution can establish. A. D. 1290.

The consternation into which the Scots were thrown by the death of their queen, can be more easily imagined than described. The well-concerted plans of Edward for joining the two crowns were now at an end, but he soon resolved to make subjection supply the place of union. He seems to have had the possibility of Margaret's death all along in his eye; and when the melancholy event happened, he was prepared to act accordingly. The state of Scotland, on the other hand, was deplorable. The act of succession established by the late king had no farther operation; because it was determined by the death of the young queen; and since the crown was rendered hereditary, there was no precedent by which it could be settled. The Scots in general, however, turned their eyes upon the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the two kings, Malcolm the Maiden, who died in December 1165, and his successor William, who died in 1214; but both of them without lawful issue. The earl of Huntingdon was a prince of great activity and interest, well known for his adventures on the continent of Europe, (tho' they have come too unauthenticated to our hands to have a place here) where he had very considerable connections. He had three daughters. The eldest, Margaret, as we have already

*Measures of
Edward.*

A. D. 1290.

seen, was married to Allan, lord of Galloway, The only issue of that marriage was Dervegild *, who was married to John Baliol, and was still alive; and had a son, John Baliol, a competitor for the crown. The second daughter was Isabella, married to Robert Bruce, and their son Robert Bruce was a candidate likewise. The third daughter Ada had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, a predecessor of the present earl of Huntingdon. The son of this marriage, John Hastings, was the third competitor; but as the other two claims were confessedly preferable to his, he only put in for the third part of the kingdom, upon the principle that his mother was joint heir with her two sisters. The reader, in the notes, will find a more particular relation of all the claimants that now started up †.

* This lady was still alive; and it is surprising that none of the Scotch historians have observed, if it was now a settled point of the constitution, that females might succeed to the crown, that her claim was preferable to those of all the others, because she must have been preferred to Bruce's mother, had the latter been alive, he only claiming through his mother. This difficulty is solved in a pretty extraordinary manner; for we are told, that Dervegild resigned all her right to her son John Baliol. This, was there no other proof, must convince every intelligent reader that a previous compact had been entered into between Edward and Baliol.

† Florence earl of Holland pretended to the crown of Scotland in right of his great-grandmother Ada, the elder lawful sister of William, some time king; as did Robert de Pynkney in right also of his great-grandmother Marjory, second sister of the same king William. Patrick Gallightly was the son of Henry Gallightly, a bastard of king William; William de Ross was descended

A. D. 1290.

Competition for the crown of Scotland.

It was soon perceived that the pretenders to the succession must be reduced, as they were, to two, Baliol and Bruce. The question of right between them, at first sight, evidently

descended of Isabel; Patrick earl of March, of Ilda or Ada; and William de Vesty, of Marjory; all three daughters, though unluckily for their offspring, only natural daughters, of king William; yet their offspring did pretend Roger de Mandeville did the like; and had much the same reason, being, as the former descended of a bastard daughter (her name was Aufrin) of the same king William. Nicholas de Soules's right, if bastardy could give right, was nearer to the latest kings; for his grandmother Marjory, the wife of Allan de Muir, was a natural daughter of Alexander the second, and by consequence the sister of Alexander the third. John Cumming, lord of Badenoch, derived his title from a remoter source, Donald Bane, who usurped the crown about two hundred years before this time; but he was willing to lay by his pretension in favour of John Baliol: he might also have added, in favour of Robert Bruce and John Hastings; for, to say the truth, none but these three had colourable pretensions; nay, that of Hastings was scarcely such, when balanced with that of Bruce. Both were the immediate sons of the lawful daughters of earl David, the brother of Malcolm the Maiden, and of king William; but Ada, the mother of Hastings, was the younger sister, who must therefore yield to Isabel, the mother of Bruce: but then both Isabel and Ada were younger than Margaret, who was the grandmother of John Baliol; and this last did most justly urge (and, had the succession been then regulated as it is now in all hereditary sovereignties, he had carried it without dispute) that, since he lineally descended of Margaret, the eldest daughter of earl David, (with whom, had he been alive, none living could have contended) he was to be preferred to Robert Bruce and John Hastings, although nearer by one degree to the same earl David. These two, on the contrary, pleaded, that they were preferable not only to John Baliol, the grandchild of Margaret, but also to Dervigild, her daughter and his mother. The reason they gave was this: Dervigild and they were equally related to their grandfather earl David; she was indeed the daughter of his eldest daughter; but she was a woman, they were men; and, said they, the male in the same degree ought to succeed to sovereignties, by their own nature impartible, preferably to the female.

was

A.D. 1290. was, Whether Baliol, who was fourth in descent by the eldest daughter, or Bruce, who was third in descent by the second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, had the preferable title to the crown? Had the same laws and modes of succession which now prevail in Scotland prevailed at that time, there could have been no opposition to Baliol; but many considerations offer themselves in favour of Bruce, which obliges me to a retrospect.

The reader, from the complexion of the preceding history, must be sensible how averse the Scotch constitution was to a female succession to the crown. We are ignorant indeed, whether, when it was settled in the descending line, any reservation was made in favour of females inheriting in their own person; but I think there was not; because if such a constitution existed, there could have been no occasion for Alexander the third to have obtained an act of the states for his own daughter to succeed him. Such an act would, in that case, have not only been superfluous, but detrimental to Margaret's right. The Scotch historians themselves give us a strong reason to believe that female succession to the crown was not even a fundamental principle in that monarchy; for it is certain, that the late Alexander had always looked upon Bruce as the heir to his crown, failing his own issue. Upon the most accurate investigation of this great dispute, there can be no room to doubt that

that if Scotland, as an independent kingdom, was to be governed by its own modes of succession, Bruce's title was preferable to that of Baliol. A.D. 1290.

This consideration seems to have determined Bruce, notwithstanding his former conduct, to the patriotic resolution of maintaining the independency of his country. Edward, who undoubtedly had now formed his plan of proceedings against that independency, could not, consistently with himself (if Scotland was a fief of England, as he afterwards pretended) suffer any other mode of succession to take place there, but such as was agreeable to the laws of England, which were in favour of Baliol. We are, however, to observe, what all the Scotch historians have omitted, that the feudal laws of England put it into Edward's breast, as superior, to have divided the land amongst all the three competitors, and to have given the capital honour to any of them he pleased.

Baliol, either through the mildness of his own temper, or conscious of the defect of his title, had, for some time, attached himself to Edward, and, with the bishop of St. Andrew's, had managed his affairs in Scotland. Bruce depended not more upon the justice, than the popularity of his claim, and upon its being connected with the independency of Scotland itself. Like Baliol, he had a large property in Eng- State of parties.

A. D. 1290.

England, being possessed of the earldom of Cleveland; but he had little influence with the regency of Scotland; for there Baliol's and Edward's party prevailed, and was supported by the Cummings, who had the greatest natural interest of any name in Scotland. The anarchy of the nation rendered the exigency pressing, as there was a total stagnation of all public business; and it was evident, that if the decision was left to the claimants, the sword alone must be the umpire. It was natural for the English party to propose to make Edward the arbiter of the dispute, not only as he was the most powerful of the neighbouring princes, but on account of his connections with the late royal family. In what manner this proposition was introduced, does not appear from any authentic record. The Scotch historians say, that their parliament invited him to be the umpire; but, be that as it may, no sooner did he hear of the queen's death, than he ordered, as the bishop of St. Andrew's had advised, a body of troops to assemble at Norham, on the borders of the two kingdoms. The settling this fact, though it may appear indifferent, is of great importance to our history. If (as the Scotch historians say) their parliament invited him, by a solemn deputation, to be umpire, and if he accepted of the arbitration upon that invitation alone, his conduct was most unjustifiable. I am apt to believe, that

that a deputation was sent to him, for that purpose, by his own party in Scotland; but I meet with no authentic deed which proves the act to have been that of all the Scotch parliament. That it might be made by the regency, I am far from disputing; but I think the subsequent transactions prove that the parliament of Scotland was no party in the affair*. According to the Scotch historians, the deputies sent with the offer of arbitration to Edward, who was then at Xaintonge in France, were the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Jedburgh, and Sir Geoffrey Mowbray. When they attended Edward, he dissimulated the satisfaction which the invitation gave him; and all the answer he made them was, that he would be in person, by such a day, at Norham, to which town he desired the nobility of Scotland would likewise repair.

* The instructions sent by the Scotch nobility to their agents at the court of Rome, seem to confirm my conjecture.--*Quousque in dicto regno Scociæ suboriri cæpit dissensionis materia inter partes super jure potiori succedendi in regnum ipsum, herede ipsius Margareta puella jam defuncta. Per cujus mortem suscitata discordia inter Scotos, idem rex Angliæ, primo fingens exterius se ea velle tractare, quæ pacis esset, in Scocia, inter partes, & sic sub agnino vellere se ingerens regni ipsius tractatibus, & non vocatus, quicquid scribat, in lupinam interius commutatus effigiem, allecta sibi callide ejusdem regni Scociæ procerum una parte, & sic reliqua sibi parte resistere non valente, de facto regni ejusdem sibi usurpavit custodiam per oppressionem tum notoriam, vim & metum, qui cadere possent in constantes. --Instructiones missæ per Scotos suis nunciis in curia Romana existentibus apud Fordun.*

A. D. 1291.
They chuse
Edward to
be their
umpire.

Rymer,
vol. II.
P. 542.

His unjust
claim,

I can see no reason for denominating the assembly of Norham, which accordingly met on the tenth of May, 1291, a parliament; nor is there any good authority for supposing the states of Scotland to have been there fully assembled. By what we learn from records, it was no more than a meeting of his nobility and others, to take their advice, and to be witnesses of the transaction. Henry the second of England did indeed summon a parliament, when he gave sentence in the cause between the kings of Arragon and Navarre; but his great-grandson, Edward, did not appear at Norham as an umpire, for he soon declared himself to be a party. Brabazon, chief-justice of England, was the speaker of the assembly; and at the first meeting he informed the members, "That his master was come thither, in consideration of the state of the realm of Scotland, which was then without a king, to meet them as direct sovereign of that kingdom, to do justice to the claimants of his crown, and to establish a solid tranquillity among his people: that it was not his intention to retard justice, nor to usurp the right of any body, or to infringe the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, but to render to every one their due. And to the end this might be done with the more ease, he required the assent of the states of Scotland *ex abundanti*, and that they should own him as direct sovereign of the kingdom,

dom, offering, upon that condition, to make use of their counsels to do what justice demanded." A. D. 1291.

It is here necessary to inform the reader, that the journal from whence these particulars, and all relating to this dispute, are taken, has been printed by Mr. Rymer, and was written by one John de Cadam, who was employed by king Edward as a clerk for that purpose. It cannot, therefore, be suspected of being over-favourable towards the Scots; and some writers, without questioning its authenticity, have impeached its impartiality.

The deputies from Scotland (for such they only were) were astonished at Brabanzon's declaration. They very properly answered, that they were not judges of Edward's claim of superiority, but that he previously ought to adjudge the cause between the two competitors, and require homage of him whom he should pronounce to be king. Edward treated this excuse as trifling, and gave them till next day to consider of his demand. On the eleventh of May, the assembly was accordingly held in Norham church, where the deputies from Scotland insisted upon their giving no answer to the king of England's claim, which could be only decided by the whole community; representing, at the same time, that numbers of Scotch noblemen and prelates were absent, and that they must have time to know their
and proceedings.

A. D. 1291. sense of the affair. This answer, which is taken from the journal, is a sufficient evidence that the states of Scotland were not assembled at this meeting; and that those Scots who were present did not think themselves empowered to enter upon any business but that contained in their instructions. Their representation, however, was so reasonable, that though Edward seemed to be persuaded that they were authorised to treat of his demand, yet he gave them a delay of three weeks (reckoning from the tenth of May) for taking the sense of their constituents.

From this management it sufficiently appears, that Edward had not been a little disappointed in his expectations from the promises of his party in Scotland; but, in order to soften matters a little, he declared he did not mean that the passing the Tweed by the Scots, at his request, should ever after be prejudicial to them or their realm. We meet with nothing in the Scotch history or records to inform us as to the proceedings of the deputies or parliament of Scotland, during this interval. From the representations given in by the Scotch agents at the court of Rome, the independent party in Scotland referred themselves intirely to Edward's own acts, previous to the intended marriage between his son and their queen, by which he promised, if there was no issue of the marriage, to leave the kingdom of Scotland absolutely free and independent. Ed-

A. D. 1297.
Acts of
Edward.

Edward made use of the interval in multiplying the claimants to the crown of Scotland, and in flattering each with hopes, if he would acknowledge his superiority. He succeeded in both; and the assembly accordingly resumed its session the second of June following, safe-conducts having been sent to the Scotch nobility, dated the thirty-first of May. It is to be observed, that the place of meeting was at this time surrounded by a numerous English army, and that Edward had employed the bishop of Durham to draw up an historical deduction of his right, which has been since published; but its contents rest upon mere fiction and unsupported allegations, so that they are almost too despicable for a serious answer. Mention is made of the fealty and homage performed by the kings of Scotland to the Anglo-Saxon kings of England; but nothing is brought in evidence of such fealty and homage being performed, excepting the mere, and sometimes wild, assertions of Anglo-Saxon and Norman authors, who transcribed from each other. As to the homage performed by the kings of Scotland, from the time of the Norman invasion to that of the dispute between Bruce and Baliol, the Scots never denied it; but they confined it as being performed for the lands which they held from the crown of England; and they alledged, that it was as far removed from any relation to a fealty or homage performed

A.D. 1292. formed for the crown of Scotland, as those paid by the king of England to the crown of France, is removed from all relation to the crown of England. With regard to the homage paid by William king of Scotland to Henry the second, the Scots never contraverted its having been performed for the crown of Scotland; but they pleaded, that it was void of itself, because it was extorted while William was a prisoner to Henry; and they produced Richard the first's charters, which pronounced it to have been compulsive and iniquitous. Those reasons, on the part of the Scots, were found so cogent, that the ablest and most candid of the English historians have acknowledged their force, and have agreed in leaving the crown of Scotland in possession of its independency.

His charter
of recogni-
tion.

The age of Edward the first, and the temper of that monarch, suited ill with critical examinations of his claims; and he availed himself of the divided state of Scotland to establish them. Having closeted the several pretenders, he found them all ready, and none more so than Bruce, to recognize his paramount power in Scotland; but he previously drew up the following charter of recognition, to be signed by them all.

“ To all who shall hear this present letter.

“ We Florence, earl of Holland; Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale; John Baliol, lord
of

of Galloway; John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny; John Cummin, lord of Badenoch; Patric de Dunbar, earl of March; John Vescey, for his father, Nicholas Soules; and William de Ross, greeting in the Lord. Whereas we intend to pursue our right to the kingdom of Scotland, and to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him that hath most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it. And the noble prince Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. having informed us, by good and sufficient reasons, that to him belongs the sovereign seignory of the same: we therefore promise, that we will hold firm and stable his act; and that he shall enjoy the realm to whom it shall be adjudged before him. In witness whereof, we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the Ascension, in the year of grace 1291.”

Edward then declared, by the mouth of his chancellor, that although in the dispute which was arisen between the several claimants, touching the succession of the kingdom of Scotland, that prince acted in quality of sovereign, in order to render justice to whomsoever it was due; yet he did not mean thereby to exclude himself from the hereditary right which he himself might have to that kingdom, which right he intended to assert and improve when he should think fit: and the king himself repeated

Declaration
of his
chancellor.

A.D. 1291. peated this protestation with his own mouth in French. We learn, from the journal I have already mentioned, that the English chancellor, previous to the candidates signing the above charter of recognition, publicly called upon Robert de Bruce, to know whether he was willing to acknowledge Edward's claim of superiority over the crown of Scotland, and to submit to his award in disposing of the same; to which Bruce answered in the affirmative. The same question was put to the other candidates, and the same answer was returned by all, excepting Baliol, who was not present; but his attorney or agent undertook for his appearance the next day. He appeared accordingly, and made the same recognition as the others. From this circumstance, slight as it is, there is some reason to believe that Baliol was ashamed of the part he was acting; but he had not the courage to be the only candidate to oppose Edward.

Acquiescence of the candidates.

Preliminaries being thus settled, the several claimants were admitted to prove their rights; but this was no more than matter of form. All the force of England was then assembled on the borders, and Edward was ready to support his claims by a resistless invasion. The states of Scotland saw the independency of their crown sacrificed by those who ought to have protected it, and they were obliged to give way to the torrent. Nothing now remained

maintained but to furnish Edward with the actual means of giving his decision its due effect. He observed, that the Scots were not so unanimous as they ought to be, in recognizing his superiority; and that the submission which had been signed by the candidates was not sufficient to carry it into execution. He therefore demanded to be put into possession of all the forts in Scotland, that he might resign them to the successful candidate. Even this demand was complied with, upon certain conditions, which the reader will find in the notes *. The can-

A.D. 1291.

* "That whereas they (the states of Scotland) had, with one assent, already granted that king Edward, as superior lord of Scotland, should give sentence as to their several rights and titles to the crown of Scotland, &c. But as the said king of England cannot put his judgment in full execution, to answer effectually, without the possession or seisin of the said country and its castles, we will, grant, and assert, that he, as sovereign lord thereof, to perform the things aforesaid, shall have seisin of all the lands and castles in Scotland, until right be done to the demandants; upon condition, that before he be put in possession, he shall give sufficient security to the demandants, and to the guardians and community of the kingdom of Scotland, to restore both it and its castles, with all the royalties, dignities, lordships, franchises, customs, rights, laws, usages, and possessions, with their appurtenances, in the same state and condition they were in when he received them; saving to the king of England the homage of him that shall be king; so as they may be restored within two months after the day the rights shall be determined and affirmed; and that the profits of the nation which shall be received in the mean time, shall be kept in the hands of the chamberlain of Scotland that now is, and one to be joined with him by the king of England; so as the charge of the government, castles, and officers of the realm, may be deducted. In witness whereof we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, on Wednesday after Ascension-day, in the year of grace 1291."

A.D. 1291.
Edward gets
possession of
the Scotch
forts.

didates, attended by some of the states, gave Edward possession of their forts; but Gilbert de Umfreville refused to deliver up those of Dundee and Forfar. He alledged, that he had been entrusted with them, not by the king, but the community of Scotland; and that he knew of no power in being who had a right to demand them. Umfreville, in this, undoubtedly spoke the sense of his countrymen in general, who considered all the concessions made to Edward by the candidates as being illegal and void. His plea, however, was over-ruled; but he insisted upon the candidates and regents, as well as Edward himself, indemnifying him from all penalties of treason, before he made the required surrender.

Opposition
to him.

Notwithstanding all the arts and power of Edward, there is great reason to believe that he did not carry his point without strong opposition. We are told that the bishop of Glasgow, particularly, in one of the meetings, made a distinction between Edward's quality as umpire, which he was ready to acknowledge, and that of being lord paramount of Scotland, which, he said, was an unjust, absurd, and new-invented claim. We know not what effect this prelate's boldness produced, farther than that Edward grew very cautious in his proceedings. Though the decision lay in his own breast, yet he thought proper to proceed by commissioners; and he promised to grant letters-

A. D. 1291.

letters-patent, declaring that sentence should be given in Scotland. It had been all along foreseen, that the great dispute would lie between Baliol and Bruce. Though the plea of Cumming was thought frivolous, yet he was a party of too much consideration to be entirely disregarded; and he agreed tacitly to resign it in favour of Baliol. Edward accordingly made him the compliment of joining him with Baliol, in nominating forty commissioners. Bruce was to name forty more, and the names of the fourscore were to be given to Edward in three days; upon which he was to add to them twenty-four of his own nomination. Thus the whole board of commissioners, or, as they are called, tryers, was to consist of an hundred and four persons, whose names were given to Edward on the fifth of June. He left the place, and time of meeting, to their own option. They unanimously pitched upon Berwic, because it lay within the confines of Scotland; but disagreeing as to the time, Edward fixed their meeting to the second of August following. On the eleventh of June, the regents of Scotland, who seem hitherto to have acted in consequence of their original appointment by the states, upon the death of Alexander the third, resigned their commissions to the king; but he returned them, with powers to act in his name; and he nominated the bishop of Caithness to be chancellor

Commis-
sioners ap-
pointed.

A.D. 1297. of Scotland, but joined with him in commission Walter de Hamondesham, an Englishman, one of his own secretaries. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of June were spent in the chancellor, the regents, the chief nobility, the magistrates, the governors of forts in Scotland, and other Scotchmen, taking an oath of allegiance to Edward.

Edward's
difficulties,

When we consider the impetuous temper of that prince, it is easy to perceive, that this process did not go intirely to his mind. Many of his own great men, the earl of Gloucester particularly, were by no means fond of seeing his power, already too great, encreased by the acquisition of Scotland, at which they knew he ultimately aimed. He disliked the promise he had made for pronouncing sentence in Scotland, nor were the letters-patent for that purpose made out till the twelfth of June, which was six days after the congress at Berwic was agreed on. He thought this was a matter of so much importance, that, after having buried his mother, who died in the intermediate time, he removed, together with the commissioners, on the third of July, to Berwic, where he made a protestation, in which he declared, " That though he had granted that the affair of the succession should be tried in Scotland, yet he did not thereby intend to prejudice the right which he had in the like, or any other case, to exercise justice in

protestation,

in England hereafter, touching affairs which might relate to Scotland." This protestation being made, we are told by the English historians, that Edward made a tour to the principal towns and cities in the south of Scotland, where he courted popularity among the inhabitants; and on the third of August he met the commissioners at Berwic. A. D. 1291.

By this time the candidates, chiefly through Edward's intrigues, amounted to twelve; and each presented to the board his petition, setting forth the grounds of his claim. The truth is, the pleas of most of the claimants are so false and frivolous, that they must have had unusual encouragement before they could venture to enter them. I shall not, therefore, repeat them, farther than putting the reader in mind, that the mother of Bruce, daughter to David, earl of Huntingdon, had a younger sister, Ada, who, as we have already seen, had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, lord of Abergavenny. If the crown of Scotland, therefore, was a divisible fee, like that of England, Hastings might very plausibly urge that he was, in right of his mother, entitled to one third of the kingdom, as she ought to be joint-heiress with her two sisters. All the claimants having delivered in their respective pretensions, Edward alledged, that they were so various and perplexing, that there was a necessity

and intrigues.

A.D. 1291. cessity for adjourning the farther consideration of the cause to the second of June, 1292.

This adjournment was necessary for Edward's views. He had not been yet able to fix the point he had at heart, which was, whether the question relating to Scotland was to be determined as those regarding the great fees in England? The better to smooch his way, and to give an irretrievable blow to the independency of Scotland, he issued a writ, declaring the two kingdoms, by virtue of his superiority, to be united.

His writ of
union.

1292.

The commissioners having met on the second of June, 1292, ambassadors from Norway presented themselves in the assembly, demanding that their master should be admitted into the number of the claimants, as father, and next heir to the late queen. This demand too was admitted by Edward, after the ambassadors had acknowledged his superiority over Scotland. The claims thus multiplying, Edward proposed that those of Bruce and Baliol should be previously examined, but without prejudice to those of the other competitors. This being agreed to, he ordered the commissioners to examine by what laws they ought to proceed in forming their report. The discussion of this question was attended with such difficulty, and the opinions upon it were so various, that Edward adjourned the assembly to the twelfth of

of October following, to give the members A. D. 1292. farther time to deliberate, and himself an opportunity of consulting foreign lawyers.

The assembly being held according to its prorogation, Edward, on the fourteenth of October, required the members to give their opinions on the two following points: First, By what laws and customs they ought to proceed to judgment; and supposing there could be no law or precedent found in the two kingdoms, in what manner? Secondly, Whether the kingdom of Scotland ought to be taken in the same view as all other fiefs, and to be awarded in the same manner as earldoms and baronies? The answer of the commissioners to the first was, That Edward ought to give justice conformable to the ~~usage~~ ^{usage} of the two kingdoms; but that if no certain laws or precedents could be found, he might, by the advice of his great men, enact a new law. In answer to the second question they said, That the succession to the kingdom might be awarded in the same manner as to other estates and baronies.

He proposes two points,

which are answered.

No sooner had the commissioners made their decisions on those points, than Edward ordered Baliol and Bruce to be called before him; and he demanded whether they had any thing farther to offer in support of their claims. Bruce urged the indivisibility of the crown of Scotland, and that it was not subject to the common law of inheritance established in England.

The competitors heard.

A.D. 1292.

land. He proved, from the history of Scotland, that collaterals in the nearest degree had been commonly preferred to the crown; and he maintained, that standing as he did in the same degree as Dervegild did from the earl of Huntingdon, he was to be preferred to her, as being the male descendent. Baliol, on the other hand, insisted upon his mother's right of primogeniture, and appealed to what had been done by William Rufus, who placed Edgar on the throne of Scotland, and had dethroned Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore. Such, and many more, were the arguments urged by these two competitors, each to make good his claim. Edward, all this time, acted with the greatest seeming impartiality and caution; and at last he brought the question under the following heads: First, Whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest sister, ought, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one degree, coming from the second sister? Secondly, Or whether the nearer by one degree, descending from the second sister, ought, by the laws and customs of these kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the eldest sister?

Edward's
state of the
question.

Edward recommended the greatest deliberation to the commissioners before they returned their answer to the above questions. The process

cess was again reviewed, and solemn debates were held; but at last, the commissioners pronounced, that, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be preferred. This decision plainly gave the priority to Baliol; but Edward refused to pronounce sentence till the sixth of November following, when he gave it directly against Bruce. But though Bruce was thus excluded from the crown, the contest was far from being finished. Edward pretended, that the setting aside the claims of Bruce was far from establishing those of Baliol, till such time as the titles of the other competitors were discussed likewise; but the whole affair soon took a new turn.

A. D. 1292.

Bruce excluded from the succession;

Bruce, finding himself precluded from the sovereignty, in the manner above expressed, declared that he had another plea to offer, which was, that Scotland ought not to be considered as an indivisible fee. Though this was directly in opposition to the arguments he had formerly urged, yet he certainly had a right to make use of it; nor is it very easy to conceive how Edward could evade it, but by supposing that he could not bring the commissioners to espouse that opinion. Bruce was supported in his plea by Hastings, whose pretensions, supposing the divisibility of the fee, were the same with his. Edward, to keep up his character of moderation and impartiality, ordered the com-

but he brings a farther plea.

A.D. 1292. missioners to examine whether the kingdom of Scotland was a divisible fee: but their answer was in the negative; and the indivisibility of it was established accordingly. The commissioners found likewise, that the acquisitions made in that country by the king ceased, the moment they came into his hands, to be divisible. This peremptory opinion entirely cut off the claims of Bruce and Hastings; and those of the other competitors were so ill supported, that they were withdrawn by themselves. Cumming was not present at the time of this decision, and his claim was annulled likewise.

Judgment
given for
Baliol.

Baliol may be now said to be without a competitor; and Edward fixed the nineteenth of November, 1292, to pronounce final judgment in his favour. It was as follows: "The king of England, as superior and direct lord of Scotland, adjudged that the said John Baliol should recover and have seisin of that kingdom, with all its appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he should rightly and justly govern the people subject to him, that none might have occasion to complain for want of justice; nor the king, as superior lord of the kingdom, upon the suit of the parties, be hindered to interpose his authority and direction; a right which the king of England and his heirs always reserved in such cases, when he would make use of it." According to the English historians, the earl of Glou-

Gloucester was so shocked with the proceedings and diffimulation of Edward, in the whole of this affair, that he could not stifle his indignation, but exclaimed against him in a very bitter manner; though I cannot see with what propriety, admitting the decision to have been conformable to the laws and succession of England. The Scots, on the other hand, have at all times endeavoured to invalidate the principle upon which the decision was founded; for they tell, that that mode of succession was not then established in Scotland; and they urge, with much better reason, that Edward was fundamentally wrong in all the proofs he brought of his supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward accompanied his decision with some words, addressed to the new king, and importing, that if he did not behave well in the trust he had conferred on him, he should feel that he had a superior to whom his people might apply. He then appointed the twentieth of November for Baliol's taking the oath of allegiance at Norham, and the twenty-sixth of December for his performing homage for the kingdom of Scotland at Newcastle. The English records take notice, that Edward's chamberlain could bring no precedent for ascertaining the fees he was to take of Baliol; upon which they were fixed by Edward himself in parliament, at twenty pounds, which

Edward's
haughti-
ness.

Rymer,
vol. II.
p. 600.

A. D. 1292. is double those that were paid by an earl. The writ of *seisin* which put Baliol into possession of the Scotch crown, was dated the nineteenth of November, and directed to William and Robert, bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; John Cumming; James, high-steward of Scotland; and Bryan Fitz-Allan, guardians of the realm.

Bruce's
behaviour.

The behaviour of Bruce, during this competition, has been differently represented. It is certain that he urged in his favour the repeated declarations of Alexander the third, that he intended to leave him his crown, if he should die without issue of his own; but such representations can be supposed to have had no weight with Edward; and Bruce being the first of the Scotch competitors who offered to sacrifice the independency of his country, we can have no high idea of his patriotism.

John Baliol
king,

As to Baliol, he went directly to Scone, where he received the crown, and was recognized by all the nobility, excepting Bruce, who was absent. He then returned to Newcastle, and performed his homage to Edward for the crown of Scotland in the most ample terms; which Edward took care should be recorded by letters-patent, and properly attested *

* " My lord Edward, king of England, superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, I John de Baliol, king of Scotland, being your liegeman for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and hold, and of right ought to hold, for me and my heirs kings of Scotland, hereditarily

by the greatest subjects of the two kingdoms. A. D. 1292.
 Baliol soon found that Edward's real design was to render him a cypher, and to engross even the executive power of his nominal kingdom. He saw that he had forfeited the hearts of his own subjects, even of those who had followed his example in his shameful submissions, and that they durst not trust him; yet he hoped to regain their confidence by a more spirited behaviour; but he found himself mistaken. Edward reserved a power in his own breast, of explaining his paramount rights in what sense he pleased, and carrying them even into a claim of property. He renewed the distinction between his engagements as umpire, and his rights of superiority; and that all his promises, relating to the former, were now ceased, while those of the latter remained in full force.

As being direct lord of Scotland, Edward had appointed certain officers of his own to reside there, and superintend his affairs. Some of them had injured one Roger Bartholomew, a burgher of Berwic, who complained to Edward of the behaviour of his officers; and the king and nobility of Scotland resolved to make his complaint a common cause. Edward, as usual, referred the complaint to his judges, of

his bondage
to Edward.

tarly of you and your heirs kings of England, and shall bear faith to you and your heirs kings of England, of life and limb, and terrene honour, against all men that may live and die."

whom

A. D. 1292.

whom Brabançon, the professed enemy of Scotland, was chief justice of the king's bench ; but with a peremptory order, that the matter should be determined according to the laws of England, which, in reality, superseded the operation of the laws of Scotland, where the facts complained of were committed. This reference being intimated to Baliol, he ordered the bishop of St. Andrew's, the earl of Buchan, Patric de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and others of his nobility to present a petition in his name to the English judges, complaining of their king's procedure, and setting forth his engagements to observe the laws and customs of Scotland, and that the pleas concerning things done there should not be drawn out of that realm ; praying withal that Edward would observe his promises, and enjoin his officers to conform themselves to the same.

Haughtiness of the English judges.

So tame a method of proceeding, as that by petition, was no favourable omen of success. Brabançon's answer was full of haughtiness. He said, that Edward's officers were representatives of his own person, and that, therefore, the cognizance of every thing relating to their conduct, belonged only to him and his laws. Edward, in full parliament, justified Brabançon's doctrine ; declared that all the promises he had made with regard to Scotland, were to be considered only as temporary and determinable with the occasion ; that they could not affect his rights
of

A. D. 1292,

of superiority and direct dominion, which entitled him (if he pleased) to judge of the complaints of all its inhabitants, of whatever nature they were. Soon after, Edward confirmed this declaration in his own council-chamber, before Baliol, and some of the chief nobility of both kingdoms, adding, that if he thought proper, he would oblige even the king of Scotland to answer in person at the bar of his tribunal. Baliol thought it neither proper nor safe to reply to Edward; but he had a more bitter draught still to swallow. Edward was not insensible that after the solemn promises and engagements he had made, his conduct would bear a very odious aspect even to his own subjects. He knew that the state to which he wanted to reduce Scotland, as a fee, was not warranted by the feudal law, either of England or France, where the holders of great fees never suffered causes, excepting in cases of forfeiture or the like, to be carried out of their own courts into those of their superiors. Even the dukes of Brittany, though a fee to Normandy, which was of itself a fee to the crown of France, did not suffer pleas to be carried out of their own courts; nor would Edward himself, as duke of Normandy, suffer a cause belonging to his jurisdiction to be moved to the courts of his paramount, the king of France. Edward was sensible of all this; but he continued to alledge, that the fourth preliminary treaty of the intended marriage between

A. D. 1292.

Edward op-
presses
Baliol.

tween his son and the queen of Scotland, importing, that the laws and customs of Scotland should remain entire, and that pleas of things done there might not be drawn out of it, had been made when there was a near prospect of the union of the two crowns by marriage; that upon the failure of that marriage, the direct dominion of Scotland reverted to Edward; that he was at liberty to use it as he pleased; and that all his posterior engagements had been fulfilled, and were determined. Upon the whole, he insisted upon John renouncing, by his letters patent, for himself and his successors, all the promises, concessions, agreements, and ratifications made by Edward, as king of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; or, in other words, that he and his subjects should give him a full acquittance and discharge of all his former promises. John and his nobility found it in vain to contend, and the release was accordingly signed by them on the second of January 1293.

The triumph of Edward over the Scots was not yet complete, for he had not yet brought John to the bar of his tribunal to answer as a delinquent; but he was soon gratified even in that. One Mason, a Gascon merchant, claimed a debt of two thousand one hundred and ninety seven pounds eight shillings sterling, that had been contracted by Alexander the third, and which Baliol had not paid. Edward laid hold
of

of this complaint, (though we know not how far Baliol was obliged to pay Alexander the Third's debts) to send him a summons, dated March the first, for his appearance at Westminster, the day following the Ascension. But a more important cause succeeded.

A. D. 1285.

During the time of the interregnum, Edward, by virtue of the powers granted him by the competitors and regents of Scotland, had sent an order, commanding the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the other guardians, to restore to Macduff, the young earl of Fife, certain lands of which he had been disseised by the regency. Macduff accordingly, during the time of Edward's progress in Scotland, re-entered into possession of the lands. When the Scotch parliament met, Macduff's antagonists (according to Fordun) compelled him to appear before it; and Baliol was of opinion, that Macduff's proceeding had been irregular, as the dispute was only cognizable before himself and his courts. Some have said that Macduff was even imprisoned, after being again stripped of his lands. It appears however, by records, that he brought a complaint before Edward, against the injustice done him by John. There is some reason for believing that Edward favoured Macduff, on purpose to have thorough satisfaction, as to the great point he aimed at. He ordered Baliol to be summoned by the sheriff of Northumberland, to appear before himself, in whatever part

Case of the
earl of Fife.

A. D. 1293.

who ap-
pears at the
English bar
as an ac-
cused party.

of England he might be, the day before Trinity. Baliol paid no regard to this summons; and another was issued, commanding him to appear at the parliament to be held at Westminster, fifteen days after Michaelmas. He had not the spirit to withstand this order, but took his seat in parliament, as king of Scotland. Macduff was present at the same time, and appeared as plaintiff; upon which Baliol was compelled to descend from his bench, and plead his own cause in court, as an ordinary party. In answer to the charge of contumacy against him, for not appearing to the first summons, he urged, that he was obliged to take the sense of his people in all matters relating to the kingdom of Scotland. Edward, who does not seem to have expected such an answer from Baliol, wanted to soothe him, and offered to give him more time; but Baliol still persisted in demurring to the jurisdiction of the court. Upon this he was pronounced to be contumacious; and it was adjudged that three of his castles, Berwic, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be sequestrated into Edward's hands, till he should return to his duty.

Baliol's
weak con-
duct.

From the opposition made by Baliol on this occasion, it is probable, that he had promises of being supported; but every step he took was either unsafe or imprudent. He had put himself into Edward's power; and, after that

that he, in fact, retracted the concessions he had formerly made. He had not the resolution to persevere; for when Edward was about to have pronounced sentence, Baliol attended him in council, and petitioned for farther time, till he could consult with his nobles, promising to appear at the first English parliament held after Easter following. Edward, with the consent of Macduff, granted Baliol this indulgence; but the latter was at this time served with no fewer than eight summonses to appear before Edward, on the like pleas. We are told by Fordun, that Baliol at first desired to be heard by his attornies or counsel: but that favour was denied him by Edward, till such time as he should come to the bar and plead in person; to which he was obliged to submit.

After the indulgence granted to Baliol, he was to answer to the other complaints then depending against him. One was from a lady, who claimed the Isle of Man, in which Baliol had been invested by Edward; and meeting with a repulse, she appealed to Edward, who ordered Baliol to appear before him. The abbot of Reading claimed, by virtue of a donation from David king of Scotland, the small island of May, which lies in the mouth of the Forth; and not receiving satisfaction, Baliol was in like manner summoned on that account.

Baliol must have been worse than insensible, had he not felt so many repeated injuries and

A.D. 1293.

affronts ; but he had now forfeited all his credit in both nations ; and his parliament of Scotland, before he left England, had chosen a regency of twelve noblemen for managing the public affairs during their king's absence. Though Baliol could not be pleased with this step, yet he departed abruptly out of England ; and when he appeared in Scotland, gave vent to all the indignation he had conceived at his treatment from Edward ; but he had still a resource by which he hoped to recover all the credit and interest he had lost.

His negotiations
with
France.

Philip of Valois then filled the throne of France ; and, for reasons foreign to this history, was on very bad terms with Edward. Though Baliol had consented to assist Edward vigorously in his war with France ; yet Edward, during his whole reign, postponed all considerations that interfered with the prosecution of his claims upon Scotland. He again called upon Baliol to give in his answer to Macduff's complaints, in the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmund's-bury. Baliol, instead of appearing in person, sent the abbot of Aberbrothwick, with some other noblemen of his party, not only to give his reasons why he did not appear, but to demand satisfaction for the insults and injuries he and his subjects had received from those of Edward. The latter was not then in a situation to resent this proceeding as he inclined, and seemed willing to make some condescensions. He informed the deputies,

A. D. 1293.

ties, that he was soon to visit the northern parts, and that their master should then have justice done him as to his complaints; but, in the mean time, he peremptorily insisted upon his appearing before him in person at Newcastle upon Tyne, to answer Macduff's complaints, with the other matters that had been urged against him.

Baliol's declining to appear before Edward in person, was owing to the determination of his states, whom he consulted, and who were of opinion, that he ought not to submit to such an indignity; neither could Edward charge him with any breach of faith, since all he promised was to consult his people; and to obey the summonses, if they thought proper. His persevering in his refusal to appear, and continuing to insist on satisfaction, determined Edward to have recourse to arms; but at the same time it gave Baliol some consideration in the eyes of his subjects. Edward's growing power had produced a confederacy against him upon the continent of Europe, at the head of which was Philip king of France, who had for some time held a private correspondence with Baliol, to know how far he was disposed to enter into measures against Edward. Baliol, though heartily exasperated, durst not publicly declare himself, till he was sure of being supported by his subjects; but, in the mean time, the confederacy against Edward went on

A.D. 1293; on prosperously. Among the other princes who entered into it was Eric king of Norway, who (if we are to believe the French historians) received thirty thousand pounds sterling from Philip; and, by a treaty still in their chartularies, obliged himself to assist Philip with a hundred gallies, well manned, and fifty thousand land troops. This treaty, however, never was executed. Another party was the duke of Austria and the dauphin of Vienne; and so intent was Edward upon the affairs of Scotland, that he suffered himself to be stript of great part of his French possessions, even while he and his brother, the duke of Cornwall, were negotiating a definitive treaty, and were cajoled by the court of France. It must, however, be owned, that the insidious conduct of Philip was indefensible; and, when it came to be known, it raised a very high indignation among all Edward's English subjects, so that they resolved to support their sovereign to the utmost. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in England; and Edward by a mandate required, in virtue of his paramount authority, that the same should be done in Scotland. Baliol, who was as yet in no condition to declare himself publicly, was obliged not only to agree to this shameful order, but to consent that three years rent of his great estate in England should be applied to carry on the war against France. By this last concession, it

He is
obliged to
submit to
Edward.

ap-

appears, that his English estate, though not forfeited, remained still sequestrated. A.D. 1293.

When Edward was ready to embark for France, at the head of a great army, he received undoubted intelligence of the private negotiation carrying on between Baliol and Philip de Valois. Upon this, he gave the command of his great army to his nephew the earl of Richmond, and remained in person in England to attend the motions of the Scots and the Welch, who, encouraged by the untowardly situation of his affairs abroad, were already in arms. Baliol had now regained so much credit with his subjects, that a French ambassador appeared in Scotland, and openly demanded the renewal of the antient leagues, between the two nations, and assistance against the king of England. Edward, at the same time, by his ambassador, as superior lord of Scotland, required aid against the king of France. The respective demands of the ambassadors were debated before the states of Scotland, and their determination went in favour of France; or, in other words, they resolved to shake off the yoke of Edward. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly named to repair to the French court, and a commission for that purpose was made out at Stirling, the 5th of July 1295; to William, bishop of St. Andrew's; Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld; Sir John Soulis; and Sir Ingram Umfreville. 1295.

Negotiation between Baliol and the court of France.

A. D. 1295. Umfreville. Upon their arrival in France, a secret treaty, bearing date the 25th of October following, was concluded between them and that king. The contents were as follow.

Its terms.

First, That Baliol's son Edward should marry the daughter of the king of France's brother, Charles de Valois, earl of Anjou.

Secondly, That Edward shall receive with the same lady, the sum of twenty five thousand livres, of Tournay currency : that he shall have a jointure of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling ; one thousand pounds thereof to be yearly paid out of king John's lands, at Dampetre, Helicourt, and de Horney in France ; and five hundred pounds out of those of Lanerk, Cadion, Cunningham, Haddington, and Castellany of Dundee in Scotland.

Thirdly, That Baliol, his heirs and successors, should assist the king of France, in the present war against the king of England, and all his confederates, particularly the emperor of Germany, both by sea and land ; and that he should invade England, as often as the English should attack France.

Fourthly, That the stipulations of the present treaty should be solemnly ratified, by all the states and communities in Scotland, and transmitted to France.

Fifthly, That the king of France should reciprocally make a war of diversion upon the English,

English, whenever they should invade Scotland; and, if required, send auxiliary troops to Scotland, at his own expence. A. D. 1295.

Sixthly, That as soon as Edward should head his army, or send it abroad, Baliol should, with all his force, enter England, take its towns, and destroy the country.

Seventhly, That neither party should make peace without consent of the other.

This treaty seems to have been the foundation of the many ruinous connections into which the Scots afterwards entered with France. It is true, they had, upon occasions, acted in concert against England, but their engagements had not been so express and precise; nor does it appear, that, before this time, the Scots had ever laid it down as an invariable maxim in their politics, to follow the fate of France in all events. It was with a sensible displeasure that Edward received intelligence of those engagements; but he dissembled his resentment with wonderful art. He sent the abbots of New Minster and Welbeck to acquaint Baliol of his having prorogued the meeting of his parliament, and of his intention to repair to the northern counties; but to demand likewise, that as he had entered into war with France, the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be put into his hands during the continuance of the war. The Scotch and English

Conduct of
Edward.

A. D. 1295. historians are unanimous in saying, that this demand was not complied with; but a record published by Mr. Rymer gives some reason to believe that Baliol would have given them up, partly through fear, and partly through a scruple of conscience, on account of the oath he had taken to Edward, from which he was not yet absolved.

Baliol's resignation.

The last might have been the true motive for Baliol, at this time, resigning up to the states of Scotland the exercise of his power. We are told that they chose twelve guardians*, and formed a seal for the community of Scotland; that Baliol himself consented to all this, and to ratify the late treaty with France. In this he was greatly assisted by Philip, who prevailed upon pope Celestine to absolve him from his oath of allegiance and fealty to Edward, which was no sooner done than he resolved to act without farther reserve.

1296.

The English driven out of Scotland.

Early in the year 1296, Edward marched northwards, at the head of a numerous army; and, on the first of March, he held his parliament at Newcastle upon Tyne. From thence he renewed his summons for Baliol to appear before him; but he was answered by the almost unanimous voice of the Scots, that neither their

* The want of chronology and method in the Scotch historians, leave it doubtful whether this was a new election of twelve new regents, or a re-establishment of the twelve who had been elected before.

A.D. 1296.

king nor they owed him farther allegiance ; and to shew that they were in earnest, they drove out of their country all Englishmen, ecclesiastics as well as laics, and appropriated their estates and effects for carrying on the war with England. A breach was now inevitable, and Edward marching to Bamborough, again summoned Baliol, by proclamation, to appear before him, but all in vain ; and a very singular incident first lighted the flames of a war, in which Scotland was almost consumed. The castle of Wark, in Northumberland, was then held by Robert de Ros, for Edward. This nobleman was a subject of Scotland likewise, and being desperately enamoured of a Scotch lady, he abandoned Edward, and joined with his enemies. Intelligence of his revolt was brought to Edward by his brother William de Ros, who undertook to secure the castle with a thousand men, whom Edward immediately granted him. On his march to the castle, he quartered at a place called Prestfen, where being surpris'd by his brother Robert, he and his party were cut off, and the Scots became masters of the castle. Edward pretended that he was more pleas'd with the Scots beginning hostilities, than he was sorry for the loss of the place, and he set out to recover it ; but in the mean time he received in a letter the following renunciation of Baliol's allegiance.

Baliol renounces his allegiance to Edward,

A. D. 1296.

“To the magnificent prince, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England; John, by the same grace, king of Scotland.

“Whereas you, and others of your kingdom, you not being ignorant, or having cause of ignorance, by your violent power, have notoriously and frequently done grievous and intolerable injuries, contempts, grievances, and strange damages against us, the liberties of our kingdom, and against God and justice; citing us, at your pleasure, upon every slight suggestion, out of our kingdom; unduly vexing us; seizing our castles, lands, and possessions, in your kingdom; unjustly, and for no fault of ours, taking the goods of our subjects, as well by sea as land, and carrying them into your kingdom; killing our merchants, and others of our kingdom; carrying away our subjects, and imprisoning them: For the reformation of which things, we sent our messengers to you, which remain not only undressed, but there is every day an addition of worse things to them; for now you are come with a great army upon the borders, for the disinheriting us, and the inhabitants, of our kingdom; and, proceeding, have inhumanly committed slaughter, burnings, and violent invasions, as well by sea as land: We not being able to sustain the said injuries, grievances, and damages any longer, nor to remain in your fealty

fealty or homage, extorted by your violent oppression, we restore them to you, for ourself, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of you in your kingdom, as for your pretended government over us.”

A. D. 1296.

Edward was presented with this renunciation by the hands of the intrepid Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwick; and he no sooner received it, than he broke out into an exclamation to the following purpose *: “How foolishly does this stupid son of mine behave! Well, if he will not come to us, we will go to him.” The abbot had been persuaded by his enemies, of whom he had many in Scotland, to present this letter, in hopes that Edward would have put him to death; but he had address enough to escape safe out of his hands, without receiving any other answer.

Fordun.

Edward saw all the plan which he had laid down, for making Baliol his lieutenant in Scotland, with a royal title, vanish into smoke; and he had now no other resource for dividing the Scots among themselves, than to gain over Bruce and his interest. This Bruce was the son of the original competitor of that name,

who courts
Bruce.

* There are two readings of Edward's expressions, which are in old French. I have followed that in the Harleian MSS. “Acefew felin tel foli fetis, voit venir anus, nos vendrum aly.” I am not, however, sure, whether I have hit upon the sense, the words of the text being different: “Acefol, felon tel foli fet, sul ne venire a nous, vous vendrus aly.” By this reading Edward seems to have called Baliol a felon or a traitor.

who

A. D. 1296.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

who was now dead, and earl of Carric in his wife's right; and he had a son, the famous Robert Bruce, who afterwards proved the hero of his age and country, but was then no more than thirteen years of age. Edward sent for the elder Bruce, and offered him the crown of Scotland on the same terms that he had given it to Baliol. Bruce readily accepted the offer; and, with his young son, performed homage to Edward, as did the earl of March and Dunbar, and Umfreville earl of Angus. The elder Bruce was a great favourite with Edward, and he was prevailed upon to write to all his party in Scotland, to be ready to declare for the king of England. Mean time, the earls of Menteith, Athol, Strathern, and Mar, had raised an army of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, most of them Highlanders; and marching through Annandale, destroyed the English border to the very suburbs of Carlisle, which they burnt, and then laid siege to the town itself. One of their spies had been taken and imprisoned within the place; and after he had set fire to his prison, he broke out of it, and running to the walls, called aloud to his countrymen to pursue their advantage. The flames had now alarmed the townsmen. Some of them ran to extinguish the fire, and others to repel the Scots, in which they were so vigorously assisted by the women, that the flames were got under, and the siege was raised.

Not-

A.D. 1296.

Fordun.

Notwithstanding the late treaty between Scotland and France, Philip de Valois had made a truce with Edward; and left the Scots to bear all the brunt of his irresistible armaments by sea and land. Berwic was his great object; and the earl of Fife still remaining in England, Baliol had raised the inhabitants of that county; who, with the people of Lothian, formed the chief strength of the garrison of Berwic*. The defence they made was very brave; for we are told that they burnt eighteen of the English ships, and put all their crews to the sword, in one assault which they made upon the town. Edward, who was as great a general as he was a politician, removed his lines to a considerable distance, and employed some of the Brucean party to inform their countrymen upon the walls, that Edward, despairing of taking the town, was resolved to raise the siege, especially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the besieged, who, in a day or two, saw a large detachment of the English army, habited like their coun-

* This nobleman was a descendant of the famous Macduff, the first earl. His elder brother, who had been one of the regency, had been killed in a dispute with the Abernethies, and Baliol not only protected but favoured them so far, that sentence was given against the earl; upon which he fled to England, and appealed to Edward. This account is strengthened by Fordun; but, according to Sir Robert Sibbald, in his History of Fife (who seems to have been mistaken) this earl was the son of the last earl. Sir Robert tells us, at the same time, that he married his father's sister.

A. D. 1296.

Fordun.

Edward
takes Ber-
wic,

trymen, and carrying the ensigns of Scotland, approach their walls. The credulous garrison believed them to be Scots; and marching out to receive them, the English (or, as I rather suspect, the Scotch in the English army) getting between them and the walls, secured one of the gates, which had been thrown open. The main body of the English army immediately rushed in, and an indiscriminate carnage followed. English writers have, to the reproach of their own country, mounted the number slain on this occasion to sixteen thousand. Fordun himself admits of seven thousand five hundred; and he says, that the Fife nobility were, that day, almost exterminated. Edward's barbarity, even by the accounts most favourable to his memory, was inexcusable, for he spared neither age nor sex. Some English historians endeavour to palliate his barbarity, by pretending that the town was taken by storm; but the relations of the Scotch seem to be more authentic. Edward, being master of the place, annexed it for ever to the realm of England, and drew round it a large palisaded ditch.

Whatever hitherto Edward's views might have been, he proceeded, after the taking of Berwic, as if he had been determined to conquer Scotland. The castle of Berwic surrendered on the first of May, at which time a strong detachment of Edward's army had invested the castle of Dunbar. The earl of that title
had,

had, as we have already seen, submitted to Edward; but his wife, to make an atonement for her husband's defection from his duty, had put the castle into the hands of her countrymen. As Dunbar, next to Berwic, was the greatest bulwark of Scotland towards England, Baliol resolved to risk every thing to relieve it. A party of the Scots, under the earls of Caithness and Menteith, had just then returned, with great booty, from an irruption they had made into Northumberland, and had joined the Scotch army under Baliol; but it was no way comparable, in point of discipline, to that of Edward, who still remained at Berwic, and had committed the conduct of the siege to the earls of Surry and Warwic. Those noblemen drew their army out of their trenches, and a bloody battle was fought in sight of the castle. The event was fatal to the Scots, who there lost above ten thousand men (the English authors say twenty thousand); upon which the castle of Dunbar was surrendered by its governor, Seward. It appears, from the best authorities, that Edward was not present in this battle; but a number of Scotch noblemen, particularly William earl of Ross, who had escaped out of the battle of Berwic, being found in the castle of Dunbar, they were delivered up (says Fordun) like sheep bleating, to be butchered by the king of England. From Dunbar the English army advanced to Roxburgh,

A. D. 1296,

defeats the
Scots, and
takes Dun-
bar,

Roxburgh.

A. D. 1296.

burgh, the castle of which was held by the high-steward of Scotland, who capitulated, upon the lives, liberties, and estates of the garrison being safe, and himself recognizing Edward's paramount power.

The two severe blows which the Scots had received at Berwic and Dunbar, the reduction of those places, the submission of the great steward of Scotland, the defection of Bruce and his party, with Edward's other successes, rendered it more than probable, that he would have little difficulty in reducing the rest of that kingdom. He had appointed Englishmen to the government of the three castles he had taken; and all his steps indicated, that he was resolved to hold what he should conquer. Bruce, apprehensive of this, after the siege of Dunbar, put Edward in mind of his promise to make him king; but he was peevishly answered in French by that prince, "Have we nothing to do but to win kingdoms for thee*?" Bruce was too well acquainted with the character of Edward to press him farther; and, without shewing any resentment, he retired to his English estate, not daring to appear in Scotland. From Roxburgh Edward proceeded to Edinburgh, and laid siege to its castle, which, by its situation, was then deemed to

Fordun.

* Ne auoms ren autres chose a fer, que avouse reanys ganter ?
Fordun.

be impregnable; but the water of the garrison failing, it was abandoned by the Scots, and Edward took possession of it, after a siege of eight days, leaving the government of it to Walter de Huntercumb. The strong castle of Stirling shared the same fate, being likewise deserted by its garrison.

A. D. 1296.

and Edinburgh.

Baliol, by this time, had retired to the north of the Tay with the remains of his army, and Edward soon stript him of those of his mock-royalty, by reducing Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; after which he prepared to march against Baliol, who was then at Forfar. Cumming, lord of Strabolgy, tho' attached to Baliol, had always behaved so, that he stood fair with Edward, and Baliol now employed him to make his peace with that conqueror. According to Fordun, whose authority is equal to that of the English historians, who relate the transaction with a few trifling variations, Baliol and his son Edward had fled as far north as Aberdeen; and it is probable that Edward sent the bishop of Durham thither, to prescribe to him the terms of his pardon, with the manner in which he was to appear before his sovereign. These were mortifying to the last degree, but they were accepted of by the mean-spirited Baliol. Here he stript himself of all his regal ornaments, and being mounted upon a sorry nag, with a white rod in his hand, as one of Edward's sub-

His progress in the North.

Baliol's submission to Edward.

A. D. 1296. officers, he was carried to Montrose, (some say to Strickathroe) where Edward was; and in the open church-yard he acknowledged himself deeply penitent for the unlawful confederacies he had entered into with Philip king of France, which, in his own and his son Edward's name, and in that of the whole community of Scotland, he absolutely renounced, as being contrary to his oaths of homage and fealty to the crown of England.

This abject ceremony was publicly performed by Baliol in other places, and at last, the particulars of it were engrossed in an instrument signed by the bishops of Durham and Hereford, the earl of Buchan, Hugh de Spencer, and Cumming the elder, earl of Badenoch and Strabolgy. All those mortifications were not sufficient to satisfy Edward. He dragged his captive at the wheels of his triumphal car round the country; he commanded the great seal of Scotland to be broken, and that none should be used for Scotch affairs but that of England. At last, he ordered the following declaration to be drawn up and signed by Baliol.

" Whereas we, by evil and false counsel, and our simplicity, have greatly offended and provoked our lord Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine: to wit, being in his faith and homage, made an alliance with the French king, who then was and still is his enemy; offering a marriage

A. D. 1296.

riage between our son and the daughter of his brother, the lord Charles; and assisting him by war, and otherwise, with all our power: and, by the evil counsel aforesaid, have defied our said lord the king of England, and put ourself out of his faith and homage; and sent our people into England to burn, spoil, plunder, kill, and commit other mischiefs; fortifying the kingdom of Scotland, which is his fee, against him; putting garrisons into the towns, castles, and other places; for which things and transgressions, our lord the king of England, having entered Scotland by force, conquered and taken it, notwithstanding all we could do against him, as in justice he might, as lord of the fee, seeing, after we had done homage to him, we rebelled against him: we, being still free, and in our own power, do hereby surrender to him all the land of Scotland, with the whole nation, and all its homages. In witness whereof we have put our seal to these our letters-patent, given at Kincardin, the second day of July, in the fourth year of our reign."

Edward ordered several duplicates, as appears from its different dates, of this declaration to be engrossed and executed, that it might be the better promulgated. He then made a progress from Kincardin to Aberdeen, and from thence along the coast to Elgin and Murray; which seems to have been the boundary of his progress

Edward's
progress
through
Scotland.

A. D. 1296.

progress northwards. It is more than probable that, during this tour, Edward first became acquainted with the true spirit of the ancient Scots, who valued themselves upon their independency, and upon the evidences they could produce to support it. Perhaps this passion might reach a little farther, and rise to enthusiasm, which is always dangerous to a conqueror. Hallowed relics, grown venerable from old traditions, have undoubtedly a prodigious effect on the minds of the vulgar; and the chief of those in Scotland was a stone, which served as the seat of a chair, in which their kings were inaugurated. The Scots were taught by their antiquaries to believe this stone to have been the pillow on which the patriarch Jacob slept at Padan-Aram; with many other fictions, equally improbable, but all tending to impress their minds with high notions of their antiquity and independency as a people. This chair was, with the crown and regalia, and some other national relics, sanctimoniously preserved at Scone; and it is certain, that two monkish lines had, long before that time, predicted, that wherever that stone was placed the Scots should reign *.

Those, however, were but silent evidences of what the nation was fond of; others of a

* Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

more speaking, a more convincing, nature, were extant; I mean the written evidences of the Scotch history, a short general account of which belongs to this undertaking, and falls in with this interesting period.

Vindication
of the
Scotch an-
tiquities.

The writings of Cumineus and Adamnanus, who were contemporary with the conquest of England by the Normans, and who mention several facts relating to the history of Scotland and that of the Picts, are undoubtedly authentic, and have ever been received as such by the learned; but the preservation of them probably was owing to their being lodged in the repositories of foreign countries, where the name of St. Margaret, whom Adamnanus has celebrated, is still venerable. Both those writers were abbots of Icolm-kill, the place of coronation and burial for the kings of Scotland, before their kingdom and that of the Picts were united. The sanctity attributed to this place, and its being the retreat of holy and learned men, rendered it the receptacle of the Scotch histories and records. Its situation, however, exposed it to the Danes, during the ninth and tenth centuries; and those barbarians, who were then masters at sea, ravaged it no fewer than six times; so that when St. Margaret came to the crown of Scotland, she found it demolished, and rebuilt it, as we learn from Odericus Vitalis, a contemporary wri-

A. D. 1296.

writer *. The frequent wars between the Scots and the Picts must have been likewise detrimental to literature, as each would endeavour to destroy the historical monuments of the other; nor must we forget, that the houses in Scotland being then built of wood, they were subject to conflagrations, no fewer than eight burghs being burnt down in the year 1244; and we may well imagine that the repositories of learning often suffered by the same calamity; for it would be difficult to prove that any of them were then built of stone. The disputes between England and Scotland must likewise have injured the records of both nations, especially towards the borders. To those conjectural proofs we may add some that are positive and cogent. A description of Scotland is still extant, the author of which most indisputably lived before the year 1195, because he was acquainted with Andrew, bishop of Caithness, who died in that year; as appears by the chronicle of Mailross, part of which is still extant. There is reason for believing that this author was the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, and consequently no Scotchman; but his performance, fanciful as it is, affords a pregnant proof, that

* Inter cætera bona, quæ nobilis illa hera feceret, Huenſe monaſterium quod tempeſtate præliorum & longa vetuſtate dirutam fuerat, fidelis regina reædificavit. Oderic. Vital. inter Scriptores Normanniæ, p. 701, 792.

both the Scots and Picts had records and histories, which, even in that remote time, were reckoned ancient. “ We read (says he) in the histories and old chronicles of the Britons, and in the ancient accounts and annals of the Scots and Picts, that the country now corruptly called Scotland, was formerly called Albania *.”

A. D. 1296.

All the use I intend to make of this quotation is to prove the fact I have often advanced, of the Scots having had many old records which are now lost; some of which, in the reign of Edward the first, were adduced as evidences of their independency.

Here I am carefully to distinguish between two periods of that prince's reign; the first, in the year 1291, when he was nominated by the Scots to be the umpire of their succession to the crown: the next is the time I now treat of, in 1296, when he was a professed enemy of that people and their independency. In the first period, he ordered all the public records of Scotland to be put into his hands, or those of his commissioners, that they might have all the light they could in the controversy. It is true, after he had decided it in favour of Baliol, he ordered them, as appears by a writ in Rymer's Collections, to be restored to that prince. How

* Legimus in historiis & in chronicis antiquorum Britonum, & in gestis & annalibus antiquis Scottorum & Pictorum, quod illa regio quæ nunc corruptè vocatur Scotia, antiquitus appellabatur Albania.

A. D. 1256. far that order was complied with is a matter of doubt; for it is certain, that some of them remained ever after in the archives of England, from whence they were published by Mr. Rymer, in the reign of queen Anne; nor indeed can we reasonably suppose that he would have given back so flat a confutation of his own claim of superiority over Scotland, as is contained in the charter of Richard the first to king William. The author of the preface to the chronicle of Coupar, who lived in, or near, Fordun's time, expressly says, "That Edward carried some of those records with him to England, and committed others to the flames." We are even told, that he ordered his English and French dominions to be carefully searched for all writings concerning the Scotch history. But if any doubt should still remain, as to the importance of the Scotch records carried off by Edward, an appeal might lie to the papers presented to the pope by Baldred Bisset, and the other Scotch commissioners, at this very time. I shall have occasion to mention those papers again, in the ecclesiastical part of this history.

Proof from
the chronicle of
Coupar.

Period of
Edward's
enquiry for
Scotch anti-
quities.

It is of importance for the reader to know, from Knyghton, that the search which Edward made, as umpire, for Scotch records, went no higher than the reign of Kenneth the third, under whom the law for the hereditary lineal succession to the crown was passed; and indeed all records preceding that period must have been

been useless for his purpose. In the year 1296, A. D. 1296. Edward did not proceed with the same moderation; for he then declared himself the professed foe of all the evidences of the Scotch independency or antiquity, both before and after the reign of Kenneth the third. All that can be said in favour of Edward on this occasion is, that he did not destroy, as he safely might have done, the evidences of the independency of Scotland, for the originals are still remaining; but that he destroyed those of their antiquity, at least as many as he could lay hold of, seems to be past a doubt. But I now return to the thread of my history.

The terror of Edward's arms made him imagine, that nothing was now wanting to the permanent subjection of Scotland, but his carrying off the records and monuments which I have already mentioned. Meeting with no opposition in his tour to Elgin, he returned to Scone, which he considered as the sanctuary of the Scotch monarchy; and there he began his destructive operations, by seizing upon their coronation chair, which had, even in those days, obtained the name of Fatal. The crown, the regalia, the royal jewels and plate, were seized at the same time, as was (if I mistake not) the diamond cross, which I have already mentioned to have belonged to Edgar Atheling; and all were sent off to England, where the fatal chair is still to be seen in the

He carries
off the
records of
Scotland.

A. D. 1296. abbey of Westminster. After that, he ordered all the nobility and freeholders of the kingdom to attend him at Berwick, where they renewed their homage and fealty in the following terms.

“ To all those that shall see or hear these letters, we [such and such there named] send greeting.

An oath of
homage and
fealty to
Edward,

“ For that we agree to the faith and will of the most noble prince, our dear lord, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain; we promise, for us and our heirs, upon the pain of body and estate, and whatsoever else we can incur, that we will assist and serve him well and loyally against all persons that may live and die, at all times when required or summoned by our lord the king of England, or his heirs. And we shall not know of any damage due to him or them, but we will hinder it to the utmost of our power, and will discover it to them. And for the performance of this, we bind us and our heirs, and all our goods; and further, have sworn upon the holy gospels. In witness whereof, we have caused these letters patents to be made, and sealed with our seals. Given at Berwic upon Tweed, the 28th day of August, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our Lord the king of England.”

taken by
the Scots.

This act was not performed by representatives, but by constituents; for it appears by the rolls
(called

(called Ragman *, which are still extant) that most of the freeholders in Scotland performed it; and from the amazing number of names contained in those deeds, there is the greatest reason to believe that Scotland was then more populous than it is at present. Some authors have been fond of maintaining that all the freeholders of the kingdom were parties in this submission, excepting William Douglas, the head of that noble family, who rather than comply with it, died a prisoner in England. I am far from being of that opinion; for I believe the love of independency was never so totally extinguished in that kingdom, as that many might not be found who would have given evidence for it with their blood, as will be proved by the sequel of this history. The outward appearance of submission, however, was so promising in favour of Edward, that he settled the government of Scotland, as if it had been a province of England. He appointed the earl of Surry to be his lieutenant there, Hugh de Cressingham his treasurer, and William Ormesby his justiciary.

Upon Edward's return to England, after those arrangements, the Scotch discovered symptoms of impatience under the yoke. Cressingham and Ormesby proved to be tyrants. The former was a priest, and the latter a lawyer, who prosecuted with the utmost severity all the Scots

They submit to English government.

* I suppose the word Rag is the abbreviated pronunciation for Raguel or royal.

A.D. 1296. who refused to swear fealty to Edward. The natives of Scotland, at this time, may be considered as taking leave of their independency with a parting sigh, when a patriot hero stepped forth to re-unite them.

First appearance of Wallace.

His name was William Wallace *. Some say he was the son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, and others of Sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie. The difference may be interesting to the two families, but it never can be so to the public; as Wallace could derive no lustre from them, however they might be ennobled by him. According to the best accounts, he was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, descended from an old family in Kyle; and thus he had the glory of owing his fame to no pre-eminence of fortune, but his own virtue and valour. The circumstances of his country sufficiently vindicate his conduct. Scotland was then without a king and without laws; at least she had none, that a free-born Scotchman could recognize. Wallace seems to have considered himself as having no relation but to his country, and as being bound to no duty but to restore her independency. Robust, active, and brave,

* His true name was William Walays; and from the country where he was born, he appears to have been descended from the Welch or ancient Britons (See vol. I. p. 105.) who formed the Regnum Cambrense, or kingdom of Areclude, and were called the Strath Clyde Welch, in the year 875 (See *ibid.* p. 106.). He is said to have left a daughter, who was married to Baillie of Hoprig, one of the ancestors of the Baillies of Lamington.

he connected himself with a few friends who A. D. 1296.
 disdained the claims of England; and by
 a self-delegated authority, he and his party
 took every opportunity of destroying the Eng-
 lish, as vermin that were preying on the vitals
 of their country. Frequent exploits of that
 kind soon rendered the name of Wallace con-
 spicuous, and the spirit of liberty again reani-
 mated the youth of Scotland. An illustrious
 confraternity was soon formed, consisting of the
 following persons: Malcolm earl of Lenox, lord
 William Douglas governor of Berwick, Sir
 John Grahame, Sir Neil Campbel, Sir Christo-
 pher Seton, Sir John Ramfay, Sir Fergus Barc-
 lay, Andrew Murray, William Oliphant, Hugh
 Hay, Robert Boid, John Johnston, Adam Gordon,
 Robert Keith, Rainold Crawford, younger,
 Adam Wallace, Roger Kilpatrick, Simon Frazer,
 Alexander Frazer, James Crawford, Robert Lau-
 der, Scrimzor, constable of Dundee, Alex-
 ander Auchinleck, Ruthven, Richard Lundie,
 William Crawford, Arthur Bisset, James Lind-
 say, Robert Lindsay, John Cleland, William
 Ker, Edward Little, Robert Rutherford, Tho-
 mas Haliday, John Tinto, Walter Newbigging,
 Jardan Barde, Guthrie, Adam Currie, Hugh
 Dundas, John Scot, Stephen Ireland, John
 Blair, Mr. Thomas Gray, and several other gen-
 tlemen, with their friends and servants.

Name of his
friends.

Those patriots, in undertaking the deliverance
 of Scotland, knew that if they were not success-
 ful,

A. D. 1296.
Their pro-
ceedings
against the
English.

ful, they must die the death of traitors; and that the exercise of humanity would not alleviate their punishment. They therefore gave no quarter to the enslavers of their country who resisted them; and their exploits soon roused the attention of their tyrants. The English garrisons were on all hands attacked and put to the sword; and, at last, Lanerk, a principal town of Clydesdale, was recovered from Edward, its governor being killed. The reputation of the Scotch arms was now revived under Wallace, who was deemed to be invincible from the great exploits he performed in his own person. He went to the northwards of the Frith of Forth, the ancient seat of the Scotch monarchy, where he found the inhabitants well affected to the cause of liberty; and there he recovered the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, with as much facility as Edward had taken them. The castle of Dunotter, which at that time was deemed to be impregnable from its situation, received a Scotch garrison; and the English despairing to hold Aberdeen, set it on flames at the time that Wallace entered it. It was then he heard that the English army was preparing to take possession of the pass of Stirling, which Wallace resolved to prevent. The rapidity of his victories, and the frequency of his exploits, have disordered the chronology of his history. There is even reason to believe, that many of his noblest actions were performed some years before

Success of
Wallace.

fore his reputation found access to the history of his country. A. D. 1296.

The earl of Surry, the only man of virtue, or indeed of capacity, who had been appointed to the government of Scotland, was forced, on account of his health, to reside in England, while Cressingham and Ormesby were rendering themselves detestable by their oppressions. Edward was at that time in France, and far from suspecting an insurrection in Scotland. When he heard of it, he ordered the earl of Surry, his lieutenant there, to suppress it; but that nobleman's health not permitting him to take the field, he resigned his command to his nephew the lord Henry Percy. That young nobleman assembled a great army, said to consist of forty thousand men, and marched against Wallace, who had, by this time, returned to the western parts of Scotland *. He found the Scots encamped at Irwin, with a lake in their front, and their flanks secured by entrenchments; so that they could not be attacked without great hazard; but the English were befriended by the dissensions of the Scots.

The English assembled an army.

* The exploits of this hero, Wallace, were so astonishing, that his historians, even those who were almost contemporary with him, have bewildered themselves in their relations. I have placed them in that order which is best warranted by the English historians, and seems to be the most probable. I am, however, not a little suspicious that the campaign I am now recounting happened before he went northwards. As the facts are undoubted, a little disorder in the chronology is the less to be regarded.

A. D. 1296.
Diffentions
amongst the
Scots.

Wallace, a private gentleman, of little or no fortune, had gained reputation, and was on the point of acquiring power, which created a jealousy among his fellow-patriots. It was suggested, that an opposition to the English could be productive only of farther national destruction; and Lundie, a man of great rank in Wallace's army, perceiving that he could not be a general, resolved to be a slave; for he formed a party against Wallace, and they offered to submit to the English, on their being indemnified for all that had passed, and secured in their lives and estates. Wallace and his little band of free Scotchmen were so far from agreeing to those terms, that they sent an open defiance to Percy, and declared that they would never lay down their arms till their country was restored to her liberty and independency. They were so determined in this resolution, that they attacked the rear of the English army, and plundered their baggage; but were obliged to retire with the loss of a thousand men. This check served only to re-animate Wallace and his friends, who were now deserted by almost all the men of property and eminence in their country; but their loss was amply supplied by that middling rank of people, who considered liberty as their most precious birth-right. It was then towards the end of autumn, and the earl of Surry had returned to Scotland, but was forced to order his army into winter-quarters.

Conti-
nuance of
the war.

ters. All seasons were alike to the brave Wallace and his friends, who took that opportunity to retaliate upon the partizans of England some part of the miseries which Scotland had suffered. The bishop of Glasgow's house was plundered, and the English writers have exclaimed against Wallace for his cruelties; yet it is certain, that during all the war he carried on against the enemies of his country, he neither put woman or child to death, nor any other person who was not found in arms to oppose him.

A.D. 1296.

The history of no country, perhaps, can exhibit such a scene as that of Scotland now presents. Her great noblemen, intimidated, overawed, or corrupted, had lost all feeling for their country. Baliol, her mock king, had been sent by Edward, in chains, to remain a prisoner in the Tower of London. Bruce, more degenerated still than Baliol, who had made a spirited effort against Edward, lived upon his English estate, despised and unnoticed. The leading nobility were glad of an opportunity of safely tyrannising over their inferiors, thro' their absence from the seat of government; and many of the lowest rank of the Scots were indifferent under what master they served, as nothing could be more dismal than their feudal dependence. The Scots, therefore, very properly considered themselves as a people destitute of any bond of union with government,

Miseries of Scotland.

A, D. 1297. and that nature had given them a right to provide for their self-preservation, without regard to any other consideration.

Wallace
gains the
battle of
Stirling,

In 1297, the earl of Surry advanced towards Stirling, where the pass over the Forth was no better than a wooden bridge; but across it he saw the Scotch army, encamped in excellent order on the opposite bank, under Wallace. The histories and traditions of Scotland here mention a circumstance which, when we consider the times, is far from being improbable; for they tell us, that Wallace, foreseeing the English would pass the bridge to encounter him, had sawed the posts which supported it so artfully, that it gave way after the enemy had passed it. Lundie, the Scotch knight, who knew the abilities of Wallace, endeavoured to dissuade the earl of Surry from passing the bridge to attack him; but the treasurer, Cressingham, being of a different opinion, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, one of the boldest of the English officers, put himself at the head of the English army, and passed the bridge. We are told, that at this time the high-steward of Scotland, and Matthew earl of Lenox, had secretly joined the friends of liberty, and had formed a kind of an army of observation in the rear of the English troops.

Twenge passed the bridge with half the English army, and Wallace seemed to retire with some confusion. This encouraged the English,

lish, and they continued their pursuit; when a detachment of the Scots got between them and the bridge, just at the time when it gave way, under the crowds of English soldiers who were passing it. Wallace upon this faced about, and defeated all his enemies who were to the northward of the bridge, while the great steward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox attacked and beat the earl of Surry, who with difficulty escaped to Berwic. Cressingham, though a clergyman, was killed in this encounter, and his body was found cased in armour. The Scots attributed to him great part of the miseries they suffered; but they were befriended by his avarice, for he left the garrisons of Berwic and Roxburgh so destitute of all the means of defence, that they fell immediately into the hands of Wallace, together with many other places south of the Forth.

A. D. 1297.
and reduces
Berwic and
Roxburgh.

Edward was, at this time, in foreign parts, while Wallace reaped immortal glory, by being the deliverer of his country. We are not, however, with some writers to imagine, that all the Scots of those days were heroes and patriots. The greatest part of them, perhaps, were over-awed or corrupted by Edward; but the few who remained firm to the cause of liberty, not only supported themselves on the defensive, but, in the winter of the year 1297, they made several inroads into England, from whence they carried off a large booty. They

The Scots
invade
England.

even

A.D. 1297. even attacked Carlisle and Newcastle; but tho' they were repulsed from both, they never lost their spirits, and Wallace, at last, formed them into excellent troops. Particular mention is made, in our old historians, of his having carried fire and sword, for twenty-three days, thro' the northern counties of England. Sensible of the disadvantage he was under for want of a due subordination in his army, where every man was a volunteer, he formed a plan of a regulated militia, which had wonderful effects. His numbers were too few to suffer him to garrison the castles he took; and he therefore dismantled Roxburgh and other places in the South; but he put a garrison into Couper, which he took soon after the action at Stirling-bridge.

Famine
in Scot-
land,

All the glorious exploits of Wallace could not preserve his countrymen from scarcity. Their perpetual wars with England had occasioned a total cessation of agriculture, and a famine then raged in the bowels of their country, which Wallace could relieve only by the corn and cattle which his followers carried off from England. An inroad made by the garrison of Carlisle into Annandale was the only check the Scots met with during that remarkable winter; and the loss of Wallace, in the whole campaign, was so trifling, that it is scarcely mentioned. Edward, who continued still abroad, hearing of the exploits of Wallace, gladly

gladly listened to the proposal made by the pope for a two years truce with the king of France, that he might return to gratify his ruling passion of humbling the Scots. He had wrote, in the most earnest manner, for all his great subjects to join the earl of Surry against those rebels, as he affected to call them; and he ordered the prince his son to summon his military tenants to York, in January 1298. The meeting was very full; but the members demanded a confirmation of the liberties they were entitled to by Magna Charta, as the price of their services against the Scots. Edward granted all they required; and in the spring of the year an army of above an hundred thousand English was assembled, of whom above two thousand were horsemen, and completely cased in steel, which, in those days, was the privilege of barons and knights alone. All this happened while Edward was still abroad; but he gave a sanction to whatever was required, and ordered the earl of Surry not to proceed against Wallace, till he should arrive to head his own army in person.

which is
again
threatened
by Ed-
ward.

1298.

The main body of the English army, under the earl of Surry, was then lying in the neighbourhood of Berwic, but their numbers were too great to be subsisted; and Edward, who was then upon his return to England with an army of veterans, ordered them to be disbanded, reserving twenty thousand foot and fifteen

hun-

A. D. 1298, hundred horse, all of them choice troops. On the fourteenth of March he arrived in England, and lost no time in marching northwards to take upon him the command of his army.

Wallace
chosen pro-
tector of
Scotland,

By this time, the states of Scotland had chosen Wallace for their protector, under Baliol. There was, it is true, no precedent for such a step, but necessity warranted the measure. In a parliament which he convoked at Perth, he was confirmed in his authority; and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was declared to be a traitor, for siding with the English. It is with some reluctance that I must acknowledge the envy and meanness of the Scotch nobility towards their brave protector Wallace. Baliol, being freed from his imprisonment in England, was then living upon his French estate; Bruce was the declared partizan of the English, and was daily endeavouring to form a party against Wallace. Cumming had the same ambitious views; so that Wallace had no friends but those of liberty and independency. He bore up against all discouragements; and, the nobility failing him, he again found resources in the middling rank of his countrymen. It is here proper to observe, that, before Wallace was chosen protector, twelve guardians of the kingdom, all of them noblemen, had been elected at a parliament in Perth, and Wallace had been probably substituted in their places. Edward, in the mean time, was making vast preparations for

Prepara-
tions of
Edward.

for another expedition into Scotland ; and had, with little credit to his own reputation, not only extricated himself out of his French and Flemish wars, but had made all the concessions to his English subjects that the most turbulent of them could require, that he might meet with no obstruction in giving a final blow to the Scotch name and nation. His views, probably, were to deprive them even of that shadow of royalty in which he had indulged them, when he had appointed Baliol to be their king, and to cut off every Scotchman who should dare to resist him. A. D. 1296.

In this he was but too well seconded by the heads of the great Scotch families, Bruce, Cumming, and Stuart. The former still flattered himself, that Edward would pay some regard to his pretensions ; and the two latter, though they did not side with the English, hated Wallace.

Edward, upon his last arrival in England, had made uncommon efforts to raise money for carrying on the war against Scotland, and writs of summonses were issued for a two-fold rendezvous ; one of all the militia of the kingdom to meet the king at Carlisle on Whitfun-Eve ; and another for a parliament to assemble at York. At the same time, he sent letters to Wallace, upbraiding him for the hostilities he had committed against England, which, he said, he durst not have attempted, had he (Edward)

A.D. 1298. been in his own dominions. Wallace, treated the messengers he sent with these letters (which more than probably contained offers of pardon) with great stateliness, and in his turn reproached Edward with his having taken advantage of the divisions of a free people to enslave them; and thus that negotiation ended.

His great
army.

England had never before seen so complete an army as that which Edward mustered before he entered upon this expedition to Scotland. It consisted of eighty thousand foot, three thousand horsemen, completely armed, and four thousand light-armed. This vast body was attended by a fleet to supply it with provisions (the erection of magazines being then unknown in Europe); but the tempestuousness of the weather, and the crossness of the winds, put Edward under vast difficulties. Besides this army, he had detached bodies in Scotland. The earl of Pembroke was defeated in Fife, with the loss of about fifteen hundred men; and Sir John Witherington was cut off with another separate body near Perth. The Galloway men, among or near whom the great estates of Bruce and Baliol lay, were not only influenced by those chiefs, but still retaining ideas of their former independency (the loss of which they attributed to the Scots) had joined Edward's generals, to whom they had been very instrumental in preserving their footing in Scotland. According to the Scots,

He is joined
by the Gal-
loway men,

the

the two last-mentioned defeats were owing to Wallace, who knowing the difficulties of Edward for want of subsistence, encamped in the front of his army at Stanmore with so martial an appearance, that Edward did not think proper to advance; which is the more probable, as he had as yet drawn no benefit from his fleet. When he came to a place called Templeton, he received some supplies from his ships, which determined him to march thro' a cultivated country to Falkirk, where he knew his enemies would make their great stand.

The nearer the Scots were to destruction, the more they courted it, by the animosities which were hourly prevailing among their leaders. It unfortunately happened, that the feudal law gave each chief a kind of an independent command over his followers. Bruce, as we have already seen, had joined Edward; and Cumming and Stuart, while the English were advancing to attack them, were disputing with Wallace about the post of honour; but we are not certain in what manner the difference was ended. All that we know is, that it was not decreed to Cumming. It is allowed, on all hands, that the Scotch army did not exceed thirty thousand men, while that of Edward consisted of forty thousand of his best troops, and that Wallace made a most excellent disposition. He drew up his men in three divisions, so as that they could not be out-

Defeat of
the Scots at
Falkirk.

A, D. 1298. flanked by the enemy, with his horse in the rear, and the front ranks intermixed with archers. The army under Edward was commanded by Bohun earl of Hereford, high-constable of England, Bigod, earl-marshal, and the earl of Lincoln, Edward had intelligence of the altercations among the Scotch leaders; and scarcely were they ended (if they ended at all) when he gave the signal for the charge. This was answered by a shout from the Scots, so terrible, that it frightened Edward's horse; and, falling to the ground, two of his ribs were broken. He dissembled his anguish, and ordered his Welch soldiers to begin the attack; but they disliked the service, and Edward, forgetting his pain, put himself on foot at the head of a battalion, who plucked up the palisades with which the Scots had guarded their front, and broke in upon them with irresistible fury. Wallace had just time to make a very short speech to his soldiers: "There, said he, is Edward, run if you dare;" but he had scarcely spoken, when he had the mortification to see Cumming, with his division, which was the strongest of the army, quit the field without a stroke, and leave the brigade under Stuart to be cut in pieces with their gallant leader. Notwithstanding these disasters, Wallace kept his ground with amazing intrepidity, till Bruce and his followers, making a circuit round a hill, attacked him in
the

the rear, and obliged him to retreat, which he did in good order and with a considerable body under his command, towards the river Carron, which he passed.

A. D. 1298.

This battle was fought on the twenty-second of July, and the loss of the Scots could not fall short of ten thousand men, though by English writers it is mounted to a far greater number. The chief among the Scots who fell were Macduff, earl of Fife, and John de Graham, a man so brave that he may be stiled the right hand of Wallace. The loss of the English is too inconsiderable to be mentioned, none among them of note being killed but the great master of the Templars. It appears that Bruce continued his pursuit of Wallace; but that both leaders agreed to a private parley on the banks of the Carron, by which they were separated. Bruce reproached the other with madness for taking arms against so powerful a king as Edward, and insinuated that Wallace himself had a view upon the crown. The answer of Wallace was that of a hero and a patriot. He warmly disclaimed having any ambitious thoughts, which he said he had neither a right nor an inclination to entertain; but put Bruce in mind of his degeneracy and his indolence in not supporting his high-born claim to the crown. "To you (said he) the miseries of your country are owing. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and I undertook the cause which you betrayed; a cause which I shall

Their loss.

Conference between Bruce and Wallace.

A.D. 1298. shall espouse as long as I breathe, while you live with ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant." Such was the substance of a declaration as spirited and virtuous, perhaps, as any that history can produce. The words of Wallace sunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and afterwards were attended by the noblest effects. It is thought that they opened his eyes, but concurred with his reflections upon his own conduct to shorten his life, though not before he had animated his son with the spirit of the brave knight. That Bruce died soon after this battle is beyond doubt; and the historians who lived nearest those times agree, that his death was owing to remorse and grief for his past meanness.

Death of the
elder Bruce.

Magnani-
mity of
Wallace.

The situation of Wallace after the battle of Falkirk was singular, and his behaviour in it more than justifies the warmest praises which the free and the brave of all countries, as well as Scotland, have poured upon his memory. His patriotism was proof against all the ingratitude and insolence he had encountered; and his own greatness can scarcely be said to have a place in his thoughts, so entirely were they devoted to the service of his country. Without repining, he heard that the states of Scotland intended to raise his capital enemy, John Cumming, earl of Buchan, to the protectorate. This made no impression upon Wallace, who by this time was resolved to take the first opportunity of resigning that invidious distinction. Having collected all

A. D. 1298.

all the remains of the Scotch army after its defeat at Falkirk, he was in a condition once more to take the field; and after burning the town of Stirling, he crossed the Forth, and entrenched himself at Perth, waiting for the approach of the victorious English. Their historians have in vain endeavoured to throw a veil over Edward's history at this period, for it is certain Wallace stopt the progress of the English monarch, irresistible as he appeared.

His conduct
vindicated.

Some of the Scotch historians with unpardonable malevolence * have said, that immediately before the battle of Falkirk, an altercation happening between Stuart and Wallace, the latter withdrew his division, and suffered Stuart and his troops to be cut in pieces. The subsequent conduct of Wallace is an effectual refutation of this calumny. The sons of Freedom continued to flock to his standards, and scarcely an hour passed in which he did not attack and defeat straggling parties of the English army. The truth is, Edward's desire to subdue Scotland, and his unmanly resentment against its inhabitants, led him into errors that were unpardonable in so great a general. He had advanced with a great army into an exhausted impoverished country, which obliged him to have his quarters and posts at considerable distances from each other. He had depended upon precarious sup-

* Mackenzie's Lives of the Scotch Writers, vol. I. p. 157.

A.D. 1298. plies from his fleet; but they had failed him through the tempestuousness of the weather. Wallace was sensible of his situation, and availed himself of it with such success, that Edward, in the career of all his victories, was forced to come to the resolution of returning to England. Previous to this, he proceeded against his Scotch prisoners, and all who disclaimed his authority, with unrelenting cruelty; for, performing homage or suffering death, was all the option he left to the wretched inhabitants. When he began his march southwards, Wallace and his friends hovered on his rear, and made severe reprisals upon numbers of the English who fell into their hands; so that Edward was forced, in order to regain Carlisle, to strike through the inhospitable forest of Selkirk.

He becomes
a private
man.

There is the greatest reason to believe that Wallace, while he was performing those noble exploits, had no other character than that of a volunteer in the service of his country; for it is agreed on by all historians, that he had before that time resigned the protectorship, in an assembly of the nobles. We are therefore now to behold him in the light of a private individual, at the head of a body of friends, whom his virtue had formed, and his courage had animated, for the deliverance of their country; or, in other words, Wallace was an illustrious rebel to the cause of slavery. Cumming appears to have been now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol,

Baliol, but the part he acted was spiritless and pusillanimous. He pretended to hold his authority from the states; but he did nothing to assist their independency, though a favourable opportunity then presented, by the differences which had broken out afresh between Edward and his English nobility. The wisest measure which Cumming pursued, was his applying first to Philip de Valois, the king of France, and then to pope Boniface the VIIIth, for a truce in favour of Scotland. Edward's affairs on the continent of Europe, at that time, were in a very indifferent situation; and though Baliol was still his prisoner, yet the court of Rome treated him as a sovereign independent prince.

A.D. 1298.

Cumming
guardian of
Scotland.Rymer,
vol. II.
p. 316.

This was far from being agreeable to Edward, as it struck at his claim of superiority over Scotland; and the respect with which Philip acted towards Baliol gave him still greater disquiet. He had, partly through the disaffection that continued to reign among his nobility, and partly to be at hand to curb the Scots, passed the winter of the year 1298, in the north of England; and at Durham he called a great council of his nobility, in which he gave away to his own party, the estates of the principal Scotchmen who followed either Cumming or Wallace. But, according to Buchanan, though he had, at the intercession of Philip, consented to a truce of seven months, yet he imprisoned the Scotch ambassadors as they were proceeding to the pope's court.

Hostilities
continued.

A.D. 1298.

The Scots seem to have considered Edward's agreeing to a truce as arising from the necessity of his own affairs; and, without regarding it, they resumed their arms, with a greater show of resolution than before. We are to observe, that they were divided, at this time, into three classes; those who persevered in their allegiance to Edward; those who looked upon Baliol as their king, and Cumming as his substitute or lieutenant; and those under Wallace, who renounced all connections with, or dependence upon, England, and acted singly for the liberties of his country. The two latter classes differed in principle, but agreed in measures; for they joined in expelling the English out of Scotland. But before I proceed, it is necessary, from the public records, to clear up the case of Baliol, which cannot be done without some intermixture of foreign affairs.

Case of
Baliol.

The treaty of truce which had been negotiated between Philip and Edward, under the mediation of Boniface, not as pope, but as Benedict of Gaeta, a private person, had never been carried into execution, being disagreeable to both parties. The eighth article of this treaty, which was dated at Rome the twentieth of June, 1298, imported, "That all the lands, vassals, and goods, which the king of France was then possessed of, that were the king of England's before the war, and those the king of England was then possessed of, should

should be put into the hands and possession of the pope, and so remain till the kings themselves agreed about them, or he should order what was therein to be done, without prejudice to the lands, vassals, and goods of either of the kings, as to the possession, detention, or property of them."

A. D. 1293.

This article gave Philip a pretext to alledge, that Baliol, as a vassal of the crown of France, ought to be delivered into the pope's hands. This demand was disputed by Edward, as being contrary to the spirit of the treaty, which regarded only the prisoners made in Gascony. Though Edward was well founded in this objection, yet such was the situation of his affairs, both at home and abroad, that he agreed to give his holiness entire satisfaction on that, and all other heads of the treaty; and he sent orders to Robert de Burghersh, his constable of Dover, to carry over to France his prisoner, John Baliol, and to put him into the hands of the bishop of Vincenza, the pope's agent there. Baliol had, before this time, in an instrument under his hand, disclaimed all property in the crown of Scotland, the people of which (as he alledged) had endeavoured to take him off by poison; and on account of the malice, treachery, and deceit of that nation. The bishop of Vincenza went to Montfrevil, where the English and French ambassadors appeared before him, to carry the treaty into execution.

Rymer,
vol. II.
p. 840.

A. D. 1293. There is the greatest reason to believe, that Baliol had been forced by his jailors to the renunciations he had agreed to; and that, finding he was to fall into the hands of the pope, he had ordered his agents at the court of Rome to acknowledge the kingdom of Scotland as a fief of the holy see; and that they did so is past all contradiction, from the records that have been published. But this very submission never can affect the independency of Scotland, because Baliol had already disabled himself from performing any regal or political act, by his renouncing all relation to the crown. Even if that had not been the case, and tho' he had been without a competitor, yet his subjecting the independency of his crown and people to Edward was, according to the principles of liberty, and those which the independent part of the people of Scotland at this time avowed, a sufficient reason for his forfeiting his right, even if he had not renounced it.

Edward either was informed of, or suspected, John's shameful submission; and when the ambassadors met at Whitsand, to deliver Baliol into the hands of the bishop of Vincenza, on the twentieth of July, the English ambassadors presented, on the part of Edward, an instrument, in which he declared, that the pope might direct and act what he pleased with respect to Baliol's person and private estates; but

but with a salvo to all the rights which he (Edward) and his heirs might have upon the kingdom of Scotland. Not only the renunciation made by Baliol, but his having taken arms, and rebelled against his sovereign the king of England, formed the basis of this salvo; and Baliol was accordingly delivered up into the bishop's hands. A. D. 1298.

The unanimity of the Scots, in recovering their liberty, had been so successful, that the English had then been driven out of all the chief strong holds of Scotland, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwic. It is to be regretted, that we now know little of Wallace, but that he was alive and at liberty. I am inclined to believe that, about this time, he went over to France; and in this I am countenanced by old writers almost contemporary with himself. He perhaps thought, that he could do his country more effectual service by carrying arms against Edward in Gascony, than if he had remained in Scotland, where the regent and the leading men were jealous of his glory and influence. We are ignorant whether he carried arms in France in any other character than that of a volunteer; but historians inform us, that he was treated by Philip with the greatest respect and honour.

The English driven out of part of Scotland.

His place was nobly supplied, in the service of his country, by a nobleman of the name of Frazer, who acted as lieutenant-general to

Courage and exploits of Frazer.

Cum-

A. D. 1298. Cumming the regent, while Edward, as usual, suspended all his great concerns, both of war and peace, to gratify his vengeance against the Scots. Under pretence of making good all the grants he had lately made of their estates, (which he could not do without carrying his arms once more into that country) he summoned the militia of all England to meet him at Carlisle on Whitsunday, 1299; but the conferences at Monstreuil then depending, he adjourned the meeting to the first of August following. In the intermediate time, he assembled his parliament at Westminster, and ordered public prayers to be put up in all the churches of England for a blessing on his arms against the Scots; and he practised all the arts of popularity, some of them even below the dignity of a king, to conciliate the confidence and affections of his subjects, which he had endangered by his despotic, over-bearing, conduct. One of the provisions settled by the conferences at Monstreuil, was a marriage concluded between Edward and Margaret, sister to the king of France; and the bride being every day expected in England (where she landed on the twelfth of August) it is probable that Edward did not attend the assembly of his militia at Carlisle on the first of the same month. At the same conferences, it was agreed, that Edward prince of Wales (as we may venture to call him) should marry Isabella, daughter

Edward
marries a
French
princess.

ter to Philip de Valois. Those incidents, but, above all, the returning discontents of Edward's barons, gave the Scots an opportunity of besieging the castle of Stirling. After Edward's nuptials were over, he ordered a parliament to meet on the eleventh of November; and upon its rising, late as it was in the year, he put himself at the head of his army, and set out on his march to Scotland, to raise the siege of Stirling. Nothing but blind rage could have impelled Edward to such an attempt at that season. Experience had taught him how precarious his dependence was upon his fleet for provisions. The country through which he was to march was a desert, the roads impassable, and his enemies flushed with success, and united by oppression. He every day saw his troops decrease in their numbers, by his great men withdrawing their followers from the expedition, till at last he became apprehensive of a total defection from his standards. At length he perceived the madness of his undertaking; but, in the mean time, he received a letter from the regent, Cumming, the bishop of St. Andrew's, and young Bruce, earl of Carrick, acquainting him, "That, by letters both from the ever illustrious Philip king of France, and from John duke of Brittany, his ambassador in England, they were informed, that king Edward had agreed to a cessation of arms for some time; and that, if he

A. D. 1299.

Rymer,
p. 859.
vol. II.

A.D. 1299. he pleased to let them know so much, by letters under his own hand and seal, they are, on their part, willing to forbear hostilities till the truce shall expire."

He is
baffled in
Scotland.

This letter is a full proof that the king of France, notwithstanding Baliol's submission, considered the Scots, under the regent, not only as an independent people, but as his allies. We may suppose that Edward paid no regard to this letter, on account of the Scots having driven his subjects out of their country; but he had the mortification of finding himself, from the causes already mentioned, disabled to proceed, and forced to sign an order for the governor of Stirling to give up that castle, upon no better terms than those of safety for himself and his garrison. Edward was then at Berwic, where he kept his Christmas. Fordun mentions a fact which throws great lights upon the Scottish history at this time, though omitted by other writers. He informs us, that when Wallace resigned the regency, and while Baliol was permitted to live upon his own estate in France, he appointed John de Soulis joint regent with Cumming. Thus we are to consider Scotland as under two regents, one chosen by the states, and the other appointed by Baliol. The same author informs us, that Soulis, without the participation of the other regent, by the advice of the prelates and other noblemen of Scotland, sent Wil-

William archdeacon of Lothian, Master Baldred Biffet, and Master William Eglishame, to be his special procurators and agents at the court of Rome. This information sufficiently accounts for the concessions upon which his holiness founded his claim of superiority over Scotland.

It was probably after their arrival there, that his holiness issued the very remarkable bull, the substance of which the reader will find in the notes *. The claim there expressed,

* “ That the kingdom of Scotland never was, nor is, a fee of England: That this both himself and Henry the third had owned; his father, because, by his letters-patents, he testified that he had received auxiliary troops from his son-in-law, Alexander the third, king of Scotland, not as an assistance any way due to him, but as a special favour; himself, because, when he entreated the same king Alexander to be present at his coronation, he declared also, by his letters, that he asked it as a special favour, to which king Alexander was no ways obliged: That when the king of the Scots did the usual homage to him for his English possessions of Tyndale and Penrith, he publicly protested, That as king of Scotland he was independent, and that he held his crown of God alone; to which king Edward himself did agree: That when king Alexander died, leaving a grand-child only behind him, as heirs of the crown, king Edward did solicit a marriage between her and his own son, prince Edward, by all methods imaginable; whereas, had he been liege-lord of Scotland, he had had the wardship of the young lady, and might have given her in marriage to whom he pleased; but that, on the contrary, there were guardians of the kingdom at that time, though not appointed, yet owned, by him: That with these guardians the nobility of Scotland had chosen, he had treated concerning the marriage: That, by the contract agreed to, it was expressly provided, That if there happened to be no children of that marriage, the kingdom of Scotland should return to the next heirs, free and independent, as it had ever been; and that if children were procreated, yet that Scotland should remain separate and distinct from England, should retain the name and

S

dignity

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A.D. 1300. his march into Galloway, where his party was again revived, and where he put all to the sword who resisted him.

A treaty.

While Edward was in this career of success, he gave audience to the bishop of Galloway, and the heads of the Cumming family, who came to him with proposals of peace. These were, that the Scots should live under Baliol as their king; that all grants made by Edward of Scotch estates should be annulled, and that they should revert to their first owners; and that Baliol and his family should be re-settled in Scotland. While the Cummings were delivering these terms (which undoubtedly had been dictated by the court of Rome) some mention was made of the interposition of the papal authority, if they were not complied with. This intimation drew an indignant smile from Edward. "Am I (says he), to whom you have sworn as the superior lord of Scotland; to be terrified by pretences? Have I not power sufficient to guard my own right? If I hear more of this, by all that is holy, I will lay Scotland waste, with fire and sword, from sea to sea!" Notwithstanding this tremendous menace, the Cummings (who are said to have been the earl of Buchan and the lord of Badenoch) answered with an undaunted air, "That they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of their country;" and then they took their leave of the monarch.

This

A. D. 1300.

This interview seems to have been brought about by Edward's friends in Galloway; and proving ineffectual, it put an end to all farther negociation. Edward, advancing to a river which historians call Swyney, discovered the Scotch army on the opposite banks. He sent a body of archers (the most formidable troops then in Europe) to dislodge them; and the Scots, unable to stand the terrible discharge of arrows, retired; but Edward, fearing that they were drawing his men into an ambush, dispatched the earl of Warwic to stop the pursuit. The archers perceiving the earl advance, attended with some troops, imagining he was coming to support them, followed the Scots, and made a halt; so that the battle became general. This being perceived by Edward, he sent his son, the prince of Wales, at the head of his shining battalion (as he used to call it, by way of preference to all his other troops) to support the earl and his archers, while he himself advanced with the main body of the army. The Scots, who had not intended to stand a general engagement, were unable to sustain the shock, and retiring to their woods and fastnesses, their loss of men was not considerable. It is remarkable, that in this engagement the Welch again refused to act against the Scots, or at least to pursue them. The English historian Walsingham says, that the

The Scots
defeated by
Edward,

A. D. 1309. the fate of Scotland would have been decided that day, had the pursuit been continued.

who be-
siegues the
castle of
Stirling.

The advantage gained by Edward was, however, of the greatest importance in his favour, as nothing now stood in his way to Stirling, the castle of which he immediately besieged. It was defended by William Oliphant, with great resolution, for three months. Edward at last declared, that he would hang every man of the garrison, if it was not surrendered by a certain day; and the place being now destitute of provisions, Oliphant made an honourable capitulation, which Edward did not punctually observe. The Scots were the less active in repairing their losses, because they were fed with hopes from the courts of France and Rome, that his holiness would soon oblige Edward to desist from his invasion. In fact, Boniface was so bent upon this, that he charged the archbishop of Canterbury, as his extraordinary legate, to present the bull, of which I have already given an account, in person to Edward, the same having hitherto lain dormant. The archbishop was, at the same time, to communicate to Edward a special mandate, in which his holiness said, "That for Sion's sake he could not hold his peace, and for Jerusalem could not rest." The archbishop, after surmounting prodigious difficulties on the road, reached Edward on the twenty-fifth of August, and

and punctually executed his commission. Having finished the reading of the bull and the mandate, Edward starting to his feet, "By the blood of God! (cried he) for Sion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem I will not be at rest; for, while breath is in my nostrils, I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain my well-known rights." Edward's fury being spent, the archbishop ventured to lay before him the consequences of making the pope his enemy, and Edward desired him to withdraw. Soon after, the archbishop was called in, and Edward told him, that the matter contained in the bull was of such consequence to the honour of his crown, and the interest of the English nobility, that he could return no answer concerning it, till he took the sense of his parliament, which he would immediately summon to meet; and that he would then send the result of their deliberations, by messengers of his own, to his holiness.

A. D. 1300.

His reception of the pope's message.

Haughty as Edward was, he dreaded a breach with the court of Rome, and would have made any concession, but that of relinquishing his claim to the crown of Scotland, to prevent it. Philip de Valois had this year sent Peter de Muncy, an ecclesiastic, and John de Barose, a knight, to conclude a truce between Edward and the community of Scotland. Edward, laying hold of this circumstance to prevent matters from coming to extremity with the pope, granted

His difficulties.

A. D. 1300. granted a truce from the feast of All Saints that year, to Whit-Sunday next year. He refused, however, to do it at the instance of the king of France as a confederate with the Scots, but as his cousin and special friend, and an amicable mediator between both parties; and he compelled the said messengers to acknowledge the same before he agreed to the truce *. The French ambassadors, however, paid no regard to this declaration of Edward; for they immediately notified the truce in form to Sir John St. John, and Sir Adam Gordon, who had been appointed wardens of the marches by the states of Scotland, whom Philip all along considered as his allies.

Rymer, vol.
II. p. 368.

He returns
to England,
and calls a
parliament
upon the
papal bull.

During the continuance of this truce, Edward returned to England, and ordered writs to be issued from Rose-castle in Northumberland, dated September the twenty-sixth, for a meeting of his parliament at Lincoln on the octave of St. Hilary following. The chief ecclesiastics and antiquarians of England, and all who were conversant in the histories of the two kingdoms, were ordered to attend this parliament, to assist in its deliberations, and to bring with them extracts from all their archives of whatever could tend to prove the dependency of Scotland upon England. The parlia-

* Fordun gives us this incident almost in the words of the record, which I mention as a proof that he was well instructed in the facts he advances.

ment accordingly met at Lincoln in the beginning of the year 1301; but tho' the members disliked Edward's conduct towards themselves, they were unanimous in approving of it with regard to Scotland. From the minutes of this session, which Prynne has printed in his History of Papal Usurpations, it appears, that the members proceeded in the affair with greater delicacy than unanimity. Some were for laying aside entirely all consideration of the bull, and making no mention of it in their debates; others thought it below Edward's royal dignity to return any answer to the pope, who was both judge and party, in a matter that affected the honour of his crown and kingdom; but the majority agreed, that some answer should be returned, and one was accordingly drawn up on the twelfth of February. It began with asserting, "That the kings of England, during the Saxon heptarchy, were always lords paramount of Scotland, and had continued to be so ever since; that Scotland had never been dependant on the church of Rome; and that, having diligently considered his holiness's letters, it was, and for the future should be, the common, unanimous, and unshaken, resolution of all and every one of them, that their lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other his temporal rights, should in no wise answer judicially before him, or send proxies or commissioners to him, especially

A.D. 1301.

Letter to
the pope.

A.D. 1301 when it would manifestly tend to the dishonourance of the crown of England, and dignity royal, the destruction of the kingdom, their liberties, usages, and hereditary laws, to which they are sworn, and which, by the help of God, they will maintain, to the utmost of their power: that they would not even suffer their king, should he attempt it, to act so inconsistently with his own state." They concluded, by desiring his holiness to give them no farther interruption in the possession of their just rights.

Edward draws up a fresh, but an absurd, claim upon Scotland.

This letter was sent to the pope in the name of a hundred and five temporal lords. Edward, who wanted, if possible, to avoid a direct breach with the court of Rome, next applied to the clergy, lawyers, antiquaries, and other learned men, whom he had summoned to assist him in drawing up a particular state of his claim to the superiority of Scotland. This performance has likewise come to our hands, and appears evidently to be the work of the grossest credulity, or the most infamous imposture. Its ground-work is the romance of the noted Geoffrey of Monmouth, who brings Brutus the Trojan, after the destruction of Troy, into Britain, then inhabited by giants, whom he and his followers exterminated. Albanact, a younger son of Brutus, obtained Scotland (from him called Albany) for his patrimony; and he held it in fee of his elder brother. This is followed by a deduction of the conquest of the succeeding
British

British kings. Nor is the story forgotten of A. D. 1301. Athelstan's striking his sword near an ell deep into a rock near Dunbar, as a mark of his superiority over Scotland.

Thus far this famous letter is dug from the Examined. bosom of fable and fiction; but what follows, partakes of something worse. After mentioning some notorious forgeries, as evidences of the superiority of England over Scotland, the writers pretend, that upon the death of Margaret, the late queen of Scotland, the states there had voluntarily referred to Edward's determination, as supreme lord, the disputes that had arisen thereupon among the several competitors to the crown, in virtue of which reference he had declared John de Baliol lawful king of Scotland. They then proceed to give an account of the rebellion of Baliol and the states of Scotland against Edward; and charge all the acts of hostility that had been committed by them as so many acts of treason against the English crown. They conclude with cautioning the pope against the false insinuations and suggestions of the Scots, and recommend their royal rights and dignities to the paternal care of his holiness. This letter is dated at Kemsley, the seventeenth of May, 1301. Had it not remained in the archives of England, from whence it has been often published, posterity would have found it difficult to believe that so glaring an imposition upon the understanding of mankind could

A. D. 1296. have been attempted. In former writings of that kind, Edward thought it sufficient to carry his claims up to the time of the reign of the elder Edward; but in this he has recourse to authorities that never existed, except in the brains of Geoffrey, and other monkish writers, whose forgeries had been detected, even in Edward's own time *. I have, in the course of this history, examined and disproved the facts adduced by Edward as they occurred; and indeed their several falsities are so notorious, that it would be mispending the reader's time to insist farther upon them.

Continu-
ance of the
war.

Upon the expiration of the truce in 1301, the Scots retook the castle of Caerlaverock, and prepared to defend themselves against Edward, who was determined to renew the war with greater vigour than ever. It was fortunate for the Scots, that not only the pope, but the other princes on the continent, nay many of his own great men, looked upon Edward's proceedings against the Scots with horror. Though their agents at Rome, by Baliol's management, had been mean enough to agree to the papal submission I have already mentioned, yet they had opened the eyes of all Europe with regard to Edward's injustice and

* Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the year 1200, treats Geoffrey as an impostor; and William of Neuburgh, who lived before Edward the first, lashes him still more severely as a notorious romancer.

cruelty towards the Scots. It was with difficulty he prevented the Welch from revolting, and his French subjects from taking up arms. The king of France had defeated the earl of Flanders, his ally, and the pope was backward in carrying the treaty between him and the king of France into execution. No difficulties could damp Edward. Upon the expiration of the truce, he ordered his army to enter Scotland by Carlisle and Berwic at the same time; one division of his troops being commanded by himself, and the other by his son, the prince of Wales, whom he had been at great pains to render a complete warrior. The event of the campaign was far from answering Edward's sanguine expectations. He retook, indeed, the castle of Caerlaverock; but he was amazed at the good condition in which he found the Scots. Unable to force them to one of those general engagements which had been so often fatal to them, his convoys were cut off, and his soldiers harrassed on all sides. Arriving at Glasgow, he perceived some of his great men to be so much dissatisfied with his conduct, that they refused to undertake a negociation with the king of France, to persuade him to abandon the Scots; and he found himself, after visiting Dunipace, under a necessity to winter at Linlithgow, where he built a fortress, called the Pele. While he lay there he received the mortifying news,
that

See Scoti
Chronicon.

A. D. 1301. that his plenipotentiaries in France, had agreed with those of Philip to a new truce with the Scots. The particulars of this convention, so far as it relates to the latter, are as follow :

“ That whereas the king of France had frequently required the king of England to forbear molesting the noble prince John king of Scotland, and the Scots, his allies ; and that the treaties intended for that effect having been, till now, by several impediments, delayed ; therefore, in order to put an end to that affair, a cessation of arms was, by the plenipotentiaries of both the kings, agreed to continue till the feast of St. Andrew, being the 30th of November 1302. : That the king of England shall ratify the agreement, with this reservation, That although the king of France gives always the title of king of Scotland to John Baliol, and calls the Scots his allies ; yet he the king of England protests that he owns neither of them to be such.”

A Truce

**disagreeable
to Edward.**

Edward durst not disown this treaty, but he filled all the courts of Europe with embassies and remonstrances against the Scots. He sent two of his ablest ministers, Hugh de Spencer and the earl of Lincoln, to Rome ; but all their address had little or no effect in persuading the pope, that the Scots were a faithless perjured set of rebels. Upon his return to London, he received agents from his holiness, commanding him, in more peremptory terms than ever, to desist from persecuting the Scots, and to restore Baliol to his

A.D. 1302.

his birth-right and family estates. He was so far from complying with this injunction, that he ordered John de Segrave, his governor of Berwic, to take upon him the title of guardian of Scotland, and to be in readiness to act against his rebels there, the moment the truce was expired. He gave Baliol's English estates to his nephew the duke of Bretagne, and he sent over writs to Ireland, commanding his subjects there to invade Scotland upon the expiration of the truce. Besides Segrave, the Scotch historians mention one Ralph Confray, (or rather Confrere) an English general, whom Edward put at the head of an army that was to invade Scotland. In the mean time, the earl of Artois, general to Philip de Valois, was totally defeated by the Flemings, which altered the state of affairs to the detriment of the Scots. Their friend the king of France began to think in good earnest of a peace with Edward, towards whom he had always before behaved with an assumed superiority. Their cases in some respect were similar; for Edward acted almost the same part with regard to the Flemings, who were the vassals of France, as Philip had done towards the Scots; and for that reason Philip generally retorted upon Edward the very arguments the latter was always urging against his pretended vassals. Both parties, however, were now seriously disposed towards an accommodation, at the expense of their allies; for the view with which

Philip

Fordun.
Buchanan.

The Scots
abandoned
by the
French.

A. D. 1301. Philip supported the Scots, was the same with that of Edward in befriending the Flemings, because each wanted a useful ally against the other. .

**Matt.
Westm.**

Upon the opening of the conferences, Philip, who was unwilling that the power of Scotland should be entirely swallowed up by Edward, insisted upon their being parties in the negotiation, which Edward obstinately refused, and this difference for some time suspended the conferences ; but to give the reader a clear idea of the immense difficulties which the sons of freedom in Scotland had to encounter at this time, it is necessary here to shift the scene to the court of Rome.

**Their af-
fairs at
Rome.**

His holiness, delighted with the compliment of superiority which had been paid him by the Scotch, or rather, Baliol's agents, had encouraged them to resist Edward ; but it was only that he might make them slaves to himself. This was a melancholy alternative ; but it happened at this crisis, that for reasons foreign to our history, his holiness was more displeased with Philip than he was with Edward. It is even thought, that he would have gratified the latter in all he demanded, could he have brought him to declare war against France ; but such a step might have been fatal to Edward, and therefore the pope stuck to his pretended superiority. The true patriots of Scotland, detesting subjection equally to ecclesiastic, as civil, tyrants,

con-

continued to act with an independent spirit; and though they admitted the name of Baliol into their public acts and manifestos, they proceeded as if no such person had existed. The bishop of Glasgow was among the foremost of this noble band, and atoned for his former attachment to Edward, by a public-spirited conduct which disclaimed vassalage to all parties. He was checked for this by a letter from his holiness, who disapproving of his principles of independency, advised him to more moderation, and even to leave a door open to be reconciled to Edward; a proof that Boniface, at this time, had some hopes of bringing that prince to declare against France.

From the above view of the dispositions of the great powers in Europe it is evident, that the independent party in Scotland had then little to depend upon but their own address and courage. Edward, rather than admit them to be parties in the proposed negotiation, ordered his plenipotentiaries to return to England, where they complained in the parliament, which met the beginning of July, of his difficulties. Through the perpetual jealousies that subsisted between him and his great men, those complaints were but little attended to, and the plenipotentiaries were ordered to return to France and resume the conferences. The Scots, through the perseverance of Philip, carried their point, and Edward at last consented to admit their embassa-

Their difficulties.

Rymer's
Fœdera,
vol. II. p.
906.

A.D. 1301. dors into the negotiation. These were John Cumming, earl of Buchan, James, lord steward of Scotland, John Soules, Engleram Umafraville, William Baliol, William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, and Matthew Crambeth, bishop of Dunkeld. Upon their arrival in France, the truce between the two nations was prolonged, at first to Easter 1302, and afterwards to Whitsuntide 1303.

1302.

1303.

The Scots
sacrificed by
the French.

Rymer,
vol. II.
p. 952.

The negotiating powers, in the treaty which was the result of the conferences, exhibited a lively proof of their interested principles; for after the negotiations had continued during the winter 1302, Philip sacrificed the cause of the Scots to his own conveniency, as Edward did the earl of Flanders, who was not so much as named in the treaty. From a letter which has been published by Mr. Rymer, it appears, that Philip was at great pains to conceal his scandalous behaviour from the Scotch plenipotentiaries; for they wrote to their friends in Scotland, "That their kingdom was not comprehended in the treaty of perpetual peace concluded between the two kings of France and England, but that Philip continued still to be their firm friend; and that he did not doubt, now that all animosities between him and Edward were abolished, of obtaining an interview with him at Amiens, and persuading him to agree to all the Scots should propose: That Philip had sent ambassadors to desire Edward to prolong the truce with

A.D. 1303.

with Scotland; and that if his request was refused, the Scots had still their own undaunted hearts to depend on." They added, "That did the Scots but know how much their valour was, over all the different climates of the world, celebrated upon account of their late behaviour, they would certainly be overjoyed, and encouraged to out-do themselves: That it was their own inclination, and earnest desire, to return with all haste, in order to be as useful to their country as was possible; but that the king of France would not suffer them to depart till he had effected their business: That his ambassadors would probably go from the court of England to Scotland; which if they did, they desired that they might be received with all imaginable respect and civility, both for the honour of them, the prelates and nobility, and for that of the kingdom."

However this letter might flatter the honest pride of the independent Scots, its unexpected contents had a terrible effect on the nation in general, which expected a very different event. Edward had early foreseen that Philip would be brought to give up the Scots, and he had sent Segrave orders to assemble thirty thousand of his best troops, which that general accordingly did, and extended his quarters into Scotland before the expiration of the truce, but divided his army into three bodies, probably for the conveniency of subsistence. The Scots

The war
renewed.

A. D. 1303.

(I think very properly) considered those motions as a breach of the truce; and Cumming the guardian, with Sir Simon Frazer, ordered a rendezvous of their troops, which amounted to no more than ten thousand men, at Biggar. The first division of the English lay about sixteen miles distant, at Roslin, which is situated five miles south-west of Edinburgh, and was commanded by Segrave himself. The two remaining divisions were commanded, one by Segrave's brother, or Confrere, whom I have already mentioned, and the other by Sir Robert Neville; but all of them behaved towards the Scots as declared enemies, by desolating the country. Living, at once, in a state of rapine and security, they despised their enemies so much, that they even neglected the usual precautions and discipline of an army, and acted in every respect as if they had been in a conquered country; for such they declared Scotland to be, and as such it is represented in all the English records of that time.

Three English armies defeated by the Scots in one day.

Cummin and Frazer (who is said to have had a great following in Tiviotdale, but being called by some John, and by others Simon, I suppose two of the same surname had commands in the same army, but that Simon was the superior officer) resolved to surprize the division of the English lying under Segrave at Roslin. They began their march in the night of the Saturday preceding the first Sunday of Lent, and reached

Segrave

Segrave by break of day. Notwithstanding the privacy of the expedition and the suddenness of the attack, Segrave had time to have fallen back upon the second division of his own army; but either thinking that he would be dishonoured by a retreat, or holding his enemies in too great contempt, he stood to his arms, and was charged with so much resolution that he himself was taken prisoner, while all his men, except such as either threw down their arms or saved themselves by flying to their second division, were cut in pieces. As no fewer than three hundred men at arms or knights, each of whom brought, at least, five horsemen to the field, served in this routed army, great part of the Scots infantry quickly became cavalry; but while they were dividing the other rich spoils of the field, another army of the English appeared in view. The Scots, flushed with victory, and unwilling to relinquish either the glory or the booty they had acquired, engaged and routed this fresh army, tho' not without a bloody dispute, which gave time for the third, and most powerful division of the English to advance, under Neville.

The Scotch generals, says Fordun, were now obliged to exercise the double duties of preaching and commanding. The spirits of their men were exhausted, their bodies fatigued, and their numbers thinned. They pleaded the excessive labours they had already undergone,

gone,

A. D. 1497.

Tyrrel's
Hist. of
England.

A. D. 1303. gone, they pointed to their wounds, and, in general, they seemed disposed to a retreat while it was yet in their power. Their two generals, who, perhaps, knew that to be impracticable, reminded them of the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glories of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. Their arguments prevailed; but they found themselves under the disagreeable necessity of putting all their vulgar prisoners to the sword. A third battle was begun, fought, and finished in the same day, and by the same body of men. The historians of Scotland have made their countrymen more than human in this combat, and have given them a third victory. It is sufficient to say, that it appears, from the relations of the English themselves, they stood their ground; that all the advantage Neville obtained, was his rescuing Segrave from his captivity; that lassitude alone prevented them from cutting off the retreat of the English towards Edinburgh; and that Neville pretended to an appearance of victory, only because he was not entirely defeated.

which raises
the reputation of the
Scots,

Three battles, gained each against superior numbers, raised the reputation of the Scots, both in England and upon the continent; but Edward, who knew how slippery an ally he had in the king of France, lost no time in crushing all their hopes. He summoned his military tenants to attend him with their land-
forces,

forces, and the cinque-ports to be in readiness with their ships. He appointed Roxburgh and Berwic for the places of rendezvous to his land-forces, and his fleet to wait for orders at Newcastle. The Scots had laid siege to Stirling-castle immediately upon the expiration of the truce; but were obliged to raise it thro' the vigorous defence of the garrison, who, at the same time, sent a letter to Edward, telling him they were reduced to extremity for want of provisions. This letter was by the messenger put into the hands of the Scotch generals, who resumed the siege, and in three days time the castle capitulated to the lord John Soules, who gave the command of it, with a good garrison, to its former governor, Oliphant. All those successes, on the part of the Scots, proved but gleams of sunshine before a dreadful storm. The army of Edward was the most numerous he had ever brought into the field; and having mustered it at Roxburgh, he fell upon Scotland with irresistible fury. He crossed the Forth, and leaving behind him the castle of Stirling unreduced, he laid siege to that of Brechin, which, before the use of artillery, was considered as being next to impregnable. Its governor, Thomas Maul, who was of French extraction, was so confident of its strength, that, after Edward had for twenty days battered it with all his military engines, he wiped with his handkerchief a place of the wall that had,

A.D. 1303.

who retake
Stirling-
castle,

A.D. 1303.

as Edward
does that of
Brechin,and other
places.

had been struck from the besieging batteries. He scarcely had committed this, perhaps imprudent, action, when he himself was struck dead by another stone; upon which the garrison, who had the greatest dependence upon his valour and firmness, capitulated. The castle of Urquhart, in the county of Murray, next felt the fury of Edward. It was defended by one Alexander de Bois, who is supposed to have been the ancestor of the present family of Forbes; and Edward, taking the place by storm, put all the garrison to the sword. It is said, that the governor's wife, being big with child, escaped the carnage, and brought forth a son, Alexander, who became afterwards an excellent patriot, and continued the family.

His great
successes.Scotichro-
nicon.
Hearnii,
p. 990.

Edward, after continuing for some time in the North, returned to Dunfermling, where he took up his winter-quarters, as did his son, the prince of Wales, at Perth. His success seems to have been chiefly owing to the favourable season, which suffered him to draw abundance of provisions from his fleet; and we are told by Fordun, there was then such plenty in Scotland, that a flaggon of French wine (by which, I suppose, is meant a Scotch pint, or two English quarts) was sold for four pennies Scots. When Edward came to Stirling, in his return southward, he heard that the bridge was broken down, and that the Scots were drawn up on the

the opposite bank of the Forth. I am inclined to believe, that this was done by Wallace and a few of his friends, who still attended his fortunes. Edward, on receiving the news as he was going to dinner, immediately mounted his horse, and riding to a fordable part of the river, plunged into it, and passed it; while the Scots retired. Cumming, seeing he and his party could make no head against the English, renewed his applications to Edward for terms of peace; and the author of the *Scotichronicon*, the best Scotch history we have of that time, says, that all the great men of Scotland came to king Edward's peace, that is, submitted to his mercy, except William Wallace, by which he no doubt means that chieftain and his few friends who still shared in his fortunes.

A negotiation.

Edward was far from being inexorable to Cumming's applications. Though he knew that the Scots had been deserted by the court of France, it was not impossible that incidents and mutual interest might renew their connections; and, after various negotiations, the following terms were at last agreed upon.

“First, That all who came to the peace of the king with the said John Cumming (except the persons after-named) should have their lives and limbs saved, and neither be imprisoned nor disinherited. Secondly, That their ransom and fine, to be exacted upon the account

A. D. 1303.

of faults to be committed against the king, should be regulated by him, in his next parliament; in which the establishment of Scotland should also be ordained. Thirdly, That all the strong holds, now in the king's or his friends hands, should remain so, and the charge of keeping them to be defrayed by the owners. Fourthly, That the prisoners on both sides, except Mon. Peter de Morham, and his father, as also the hostages for the payment of the ransom of prisoners, be also released.

Its com-
missioners.

The negociators of this peace, on the English side, were Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster; Aymer de Valence, lord of Montignac; Henry de Piercy, knight; and John de Bensted, clerk. Those on the part of the Scots were John Cumming of Badenoch, Edmund Cumming of Kilbride, John de Graham, John de Vaux, Godfrey de Roos, John de Maxwell senior, Peter de Bendergyft, Walter Berkley de Kerdau, Hugh de Loth, William de Erth, James de Roos, and Walter de Rathervan, knights, for themselves and all their adherents.

Exceptions.

The persons who had the glory to be excepted, were Robert bishop of Glasgow, James lord steward of Scotland, John Soulis, David Graham, Alexander Lindsay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Boece, and William Wallace. Those exceptions were thought by Edward necessary forms to satisfy his honour, rather than gratify his revenge; for he was willing that the bishop, the

the steward, and John Soulis, should be safe as to their lives, limbs, liberties, and estates, provided they lived two years in banishment out of Scotland, south of Trent; but that the steward's castle should be put into the king's possession, and at the steward's expence. Graham and Lindsay were to have the like, but milder, conditions; for the former was to be banished beyond the Tweed, and the latter beyond the Trent, for no more than half a year. The same terms were granted to Frazer and Boece; but they were to be banished for three years, unless, in the mean time, they could make interest to be pardoned. As to the brave Wallace, he had the distinguished honour of being totally proscribed; for Edward would hear of no terms for him, but an unconditional submission to his mercy. That hero still continued in arms; and there is no doubt that he might have obtained the most favourable conditions, had not Edward been thoroughly convinced of his inflexibility in the cause of his country.

Wallace was bravely seconded by Oliphant, who, as we have seen, had been again appointed by the Scotch regency governor of Stirling-castle. In his return from the North, Edward put to the sword the garrisons of all the places who did not immediately surrender; and he burnt down all the abbey of Dunfermling, excepting its church and cells, on pretence that it served as a receptacle for his enemies. When he came

Edward
besieges
Stirling-
castle.

Scotch-
chron-
icon.

1304.

A.D. 1304. to St. Andrew's, foreseeing that the castle of Stirling would make a vigorous resistance, he stripped all the lead from the refectory there, to be employed in supplying his battering machines during the siege; and Oliphant was solemnly summoned to surrender, but in vain. Edward, upon this, drew out all his artillery, and most furiously battered the walls with stones, as we are told, of two hundred pounds weight, which made vast breaches; but the governor still refused to capitulate. His defence was so obstinate, that numbers of the besiegers were killed; and Edward, enraged to the highest degree, exposed his person so freely, that he must have been killed by an arrow, had it not been for the goodness of his armour. Holding the weapon up, he threatened to hang the man who shot it, and resolved upon a general assault. For that purpose he summoned his officers together, expatiated on the justice of his cause, and shewed them how practicable the breaches were. According to English authors, the garrison was now reduced to twenty-eight persons, to whom Edward would grant no condition, but that of surrendering at discretion. The Scotchchronicon says, that a capitulation was signed and sealed, but that Edward, in direct violation of his good faith, sent the governor prisoner to London, where he remained in confinement for some years; and together with him about
an

A. D. 1304.

an hundred Scotchmen of rank, who had refused or neglected to surrender themselves to Edward's peace, were distributed in captivity through different fortresses of England; but Walsingham, the English historian, says, that Edward spared the lives of the remains of the garrison of Stirling-castle. The imprisonment of those brave men, and the reduction of Stirling-castle, flattered Edward with the hopes that Scotland was now entirely subdued. We learn, from Trivet's Annals, that in the middle of Lent this year he assembled a great council, consisting of the Scotch and his own nobility, at St. Andrew's, where he proceeded against all delinquents, and sat in judgment on those who had submitted to his peace. The castle of Stirling, however, was not surrendered till the twentieth of July, after which he new-modelled the administration of Scotland, both civil and military, and renewed Segrave's commission as governor. He then set out for York, from whence he proceeded to Lincoln, where he kept his Christmas.

which he takes,

1305.

Edward could not but be sensible, from the temper and dispositions of the Scots, that the chief advantages he had gained over them were owing to their own dissensions, and that the severities he made them suffer tended only to render them more desperate. He resolved to alter his plan of conduct, and took into his confidence the bishop of Glasgow and Robert Bruce,

and alters the plan of his conduct.

A. D. 1305. Bruce, though then exiles in England, with John Mowbray, who, next to Bruce and the Cummings, was amongst the greatest of the Scotch temporal nobility; and he recommended to them the settling the affairs of their country, but still with a view of uniting it with England, under himself. This was a great and a comprehensive scheme, and suited to the genius of Edward as a legislator. As the steps which he took to execute his purpose are still upon record, there can be no room to doubt that he intended to give a form of government to Scotland, pretty near resembling that of Ireland, even as it stands at this day.

He renews
his project
of an union.

The lords to whom he communicated his intentions soon understood that the fate of Scotland was to be determined in an English parliament, and that all they had to deliberate upon was the mode of proceeding. This could not be extremely agreeable to Bruce, whose only competitor now for the Scotch crown was Cumming, the late regent; and him he knew how to render tractable. Edward was then about to hold his Lent parliament at London; but the three referees, the very next day, gave him their report, which was to the following purpose: That they apprehended no parliament could be held in Scotland before the 24th of June, (the feast of St. John the Baptist) because the Scots could not, before Easter, attend at any certain day or place in consequence of the chancellor's brief;

brief; but they submitted that consideration entirely to the king; that the commissioners who were to attend the English parliament for settling the affairs of Scotland, ought to consist of two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two commoners, who were to have their expences borne; and that the then government of Scotland should remain in the regent, the king's officers, and the community of the kingdom, by which was undoubtedly meant the states of Scotland. Edward, having considered those opinions, confirmed them, and ordered writs to be issued for assembling a parliament to meet at London three weeks after Midsummer, at which place and time the commissioners chosen by the community of Scotland, were to attend to treat with other commissioners appointed on the part of the English. Those for Scotland were the bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunkeld, the abbots of Coupar and Melros, the earl of Buchan and John Mowbray, Robert Keith, Adam Gordon, with John de Inchmartin and the earl of March, who did not attend. Those appointed on the part of England were, the bishop of Chester, the abbot of Westminster, the earl of Lincoln, Hugh d'Espenser, John de Hastings, (who could not come because he was sick) John Botetout, Roger Brabazon, William Bereford, John de Isle, Reynard Brandon, Hugh, monk of Manchester, Sir John Beinstead, the bishop of Worcester, the abbot of Waverly, the earl

A.D. 1309.

Names of
his com-
moners.

of

A. D. 1305. of Hereford, Henry Piercy, William Martyn, Sir John Sandale, Sir Ralph Hengham, Roger Hengham ; and Philip Martel.

The English parliament not meeting before the 15th of September, Edward appointed Sir John de Menteith, a new Scotch favourite whom he had gained over, to supply the place of the earl of March. After deliberating for twenty days, the duke of Bretagne was appointed to be governor of Scotland, Sir William Bevercote to be chancellor, Sir John Sandale chamberlain, and Sir Robert Heron comptroller. Those four great officers of state had a power of appointing the inferior magistrates ; all distinctions between the native Scots and the English within Scotland were to be abolished, and all places of power and profit there to be conferred equally on both. Though those were alarming institutions, yet it is plain from the record which contains them, that Edward still intended to have preserved the appearance of a separate parliament and government in Scotland. The words are very clear and precise, and the reader will find them in the annexed note *. From them

* " It is ordained, that the usages of the Scots and Britons [which, by the bye, were quite averse to the feudal constitution, which then prevailed in all the civilized part of that kingdom] shall be entirely abolished and disused. It is likewise ordained that the king's lieutenant, as soon as he shall arrive in Scotland, shall assemble the men of estates in the said kingdom in a convenient place ; and in his presence, and in that of the assembly, the laws of king David shall be rehearsed, together with the amendments and additions made to the same by their other kings.
And

it is evident, that Edward's intention was to annex Scotland to his crown, to keep up certain forms of its ancient constitution, but to abolish the spirit of its government. To make this regulation the more agreeable to the Scots, it was attended by a general pardon to the nobility who had borne arms against Edward; but clogged with the following extraordinary exceptions: All the estate of Baliol and the sovereignty of Scotland was vested in Edward: John Cumming and his adherents were, by way of atonement for their crimes of rebellion against him, to forfeit three years rent of their estates; for building new castles in Scotland, or for any other purposes the king pleased: All the people of Scotland, who submitted to Edward before John Baliol, were to

A pardon.

And the said lieutenant, with the council there assembled, both Scots and English, shall, without consulting with the king, do the best they can to rectify and amend those laws and usages which are against God and reason; and such things as they cannot rectify, or dare attempt, without the king, together with those matters they have actually agreed upon, shall be ingrossed in writing, by the common consent of the said lieutenant, and of the said assembly, to be by him, and such persons from Scotland who shall be chosen by the community of that kingdom, there and then assembled, carried before the king at Westminster, under the said lieutenant's seal, three weeks after the Easter then following. It is farther ordained, that they who shall then come, shall have full power from the community of the said land to ratify and confirm whatever shall be there ordained, in the same manner as if the said community were collectively present. Farther, that the king shall nominate certain persons to confer with the said deputies, and to review and consider the matters thus presented, so as that such redress may be granted, as that Scotland may enjoy a state of peace and tranquility."

A.D. 1305. pay two years rents of their lands : The whole body of the clergy of Scotland, excepting the bishop of Glasgow, who was subjected to the same mulct as John Cumming, was to pay one year's rent of their incomes. It was farther agreed, that Ingelram de Umfreville, because he made his submission a little before these letters were granted, should pay five years value ; and that William de Baliol and John Wishart should pay, for the same reason, four years rent. Farther, that Hugh de Adrossan, John de Gourley, John de Naper, and John de Makilgoigny, who were of the retinue of the said William, Ingelram, and John, should pay three years value. Out of this pardon were likewise excepted all the Scots who were then prisoners to Edward, and those who had not submitted to his power. The writ itself is dated the fifteenth of October, 1305.

This pardon is a full proof of Edward's rigour in matters of government, and is founded upon the second article of the treaty with Cumming and his friends, concluded in February 1304. Edward, who seems to have been solicitous in soothing the Scots, granted the delinquents half of their estates to subsist upon ; but the other half was to be paid to his officers, till the whole of their mulcts were discharged. We are told that, in consequence of this pardon, the nobility and clergy of Scotland renewed their oaths of fidelity to the king of England. All

All Edward's plausible arts could not disguise his true intention from Bruce, who was then a young man of greater vivacity than experience; but having been bred under a versatile father, he knew how to conceal his sentiments, whatever were his feelings. Through all the fondness which Edward expressed for his person, he found him full of distrust and jealousy at the bottom; and he knew that it was owing to that king's management that he had been left out of the commission for settling the affairs of Scotland. Edward, however, with all his discernment, did not see the extent of Bruce's genius, and considered him only as a sprightly young nobleman, over whom he must hold a firm and watchful hand. He had claimed Bruce's castle of Kildrummey, as belonging to the royalty of Scotland; and the latter knew not how to evade the demand, but by delivering his countrymen from the chains they were now submitting to wear. He was well qualified for this arduous undertaking. To a mind enterprising, intrepid, and persevering, nature had added in Bruce a vigorous constitution, capable of bearing the extremes of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Being a complete master in the exercise of his arms, he was well fitted to command detached parties; and his genius was so fruitful in resources, that he afterwards rose greater from every defeat he sustained. He had received an excellent

A. D. 1305.
Character
of young
Bruce,

A. D. 1305. education, for the times in which he lived, and therefore we cannot suppose him insensible of the glory due to Greek and Roman patriotism; and he had a particular passion for supporting the antiquity and independency of his own country.

and of
Cumming.

Cumming the regent, surnamed, from his complexion, the Red, had acquired great reputation while he was at the head of affairs in Scotland; but, though brave in person, and able in council, he had not the heroic disposition of Bruce, the glory of his country being but his second consideration; and, for that reason, he never had been cordially trusted by Wallace. Seeing himself divested of power, he could not, however, forbear dropping some expressions of discontent against Edward, which were carried to Bruce, who immediately resolved, if possible, to bring Cumming into his views. A tragical incident for Scotland, which happened at this time, promoted their union.

Wallace
betrayed and
executed.

Wallace still remained proscribed, and the connections between Edward and the king of France were become now so strong, that he had no foreign country in which he could serve Scotland by fighting against the English. After the publication of Edward's pardon, he seems to have been deserted by all his followers excepting a few, with whom he wandered from place to place, till at last he came to Glasgow, where he was betrayed by Edward's new fa-

favourite, Sir John Menteith, of whose apostacy Wallace very probably was ignorant. Menteith delivered him up to Aymer de Valence, the English governor in those parts, who sent him prisoner to London. The roads through which he passed were lined with spectators, whom he had often filled with terror and dismay, sentiments now turned to pity and admiration. Upon his arrival at London, he was lodged in a house in Fenchurch-street; and Edward, as thinking himself now the immediate sovereign of Scotland, gave orders for his being tried in Westminster-Hall, to which he was conducted, wearing a crown of laurel on his head by way of derision, and placed upon a seat of eminence in the court. This unmanly treatment is recorded by English historians; but it did not prevent Wallace from making a vigorous defence. He pleaded not guilty to his indictment, and challenged the crown-lawyers to produce a single instance in which he had acknowledged Edward to be the lord-paramount, far less the natural sovereign, of Scotland. As to the intentions of the Scotch nobility and nation, of accepting Edward for their king, and Englishmen for their governors, it had not yet been carried into execution, and therefore could not legally affect Wallace. His plea was over-ruled, and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor, according to the English law, which,
to

A. D. 1305. to the eternal infamy of Edward, was inflicted upon him, and portions of his body were dispersed through different cities of Scotland and England. Thus died one of the best patriots, and greatest heroes, any age can boast of. His memory had the singular good fortune, even in those unpolished times, to be celebrated in an ode, which, for elegance of style and beauty of composition, would do honour to the Augustan age, and if equalled, it never yet has been surpassed *. Some have thought it to

* In obitum clarissimi ducis Gulielmi Wallace quem Edvardus primus Anglorum rex, sibi proditum, supplicio Londini affeceret, Carmen.

Invida mors tristi Gulielmum funere Vallam,
 Quæ cuncta tollit, sustulit.
 Et tanto pro cive, cinis; pro finibus urna est:
 Frigusque pro lorica obit.
 Ille quidem terras, loca se inferiora, reliquit.
 At fata factis, suppressens.
 Parte sui meliore solum, cælumque pererrat,
 Hoc spiritu, illud gloria.
 At sibi si inscriptum generoso pectus honesto
 Fuisset, hostis proditi
 Artibus Angle tuis, in pœnas parciore isse:
 Nec oppidatim spargeres
 Membra viri sacrandæ adytis. Sed scin' quid in ista
 Immanitate viceris?
 Ut Vallæ in cunctas oras spargentur & horas
 Laudes; tuumque dedecus.

Thus done into English by the author of the History of the Douglasses, with an elegance equally admirable, when we consider the age in which he lived, though far inferior to the beauty of the original.

Envious Death, who ruins all,
 Hath wrought the sad lamented fall
 Of Wallace, and no more remains
 Of him than what this urn contains.
 Ashes for our hero we have,
 He for his armour a cold grave.

have been written by his chaplain, John or Arnold Blair; but the other works of that author leave little room for such a conjecture. Wallace is, by the Scotch historians, said to have been of a gigantic stature, remarkably strong in his person, pleasing in his aspect, compassionate, just, bountiful, and placable towards all but the English, who held his country in slavery. He was taken prisoner on the seventh of September, 1305, and suffered soon after.

When all circumstances are considered, there is too much reason to believe, that the death of the brave Wallace was an event far from being disagreeable to Bruce; and we may at least say, that it fell out very critically for his views, as it removed his great rival for popularity, and a man whom he knew no consideration could render flexible to the arts of expediency, in which Bruce himself was a great master. He seems to have been, at that time, in Scotland, but without any share of the government there.

Intrigues of
Bruce for
the crown.

He left the earth, too low a state,
And by his worth o'ercame his fate.
His soul Death had not pow'r to kill;
His noble deeds the world do fill,
With lasting trophies of his name.
O, hadst thou virtue lov'd or fame,
Thou couldst not have insulted so
Over a brave, betray'd, dead foe,
Edward, nor seen those limbs expos'd,
To public shame, fit to be clos'd,
As reliques, in an holy shrine;
But now the infamy is thine:
His end crowns him with glorious bays,
And stains the brightest of thy praise.

A.D. 1305.

Baliol's claim to the crown was now forgotten; but as he had a son, Cumming, during his lifetime, could have no title while that of Bruce stood on the same foundation with that of his grandfather. The Scots, therefore, who had any regard for the old constitution, among whom were many who had been once friends to Baliol, but were now his enemies, on account of his infamous compliances, as well as they who originally thought Bruce's title preferable, considered the latter as their lawful king; and his secret well-wishers grew every day more numerous. As Cumming was the only bar in the way of his virtuous ambition, Bruce found means to sound his real sentiments, which he found conformable to his own, with regard to the miserable state of his country. According to the author of the *Scotichronicon*, Bruce was so affected with their sufferings, that he gave Cumming his option of the crown, and his own interest to acquire it, provided he resigned to him (Bruce) all his family estates. Whatever there may be in this, Cumming certainly entered, or seemed to enter, into a compromise with Bruce, by which he agreed to give the latter his utmost assistance in placing him on the throne, provided that, when that event took place, Bruce would put him in possession of all his (Bruce's) private estate. As an interview of this kind must have been very secret, it is not surprising that authors differ as to particulars.

Fordun.

lars. Some have said, that writings were drawn, and an indenture was signed and sealed, between the two parties, for the above purposes; but I think with little probable foundation, as such a paper must have put the one too much in the power of the other.

A. D. 1303.

I am therefore of opinion, that nothing more passed at this interview, than a verbal agreement; but it is universally allowed, that Cumming immediately dispatched the result of their conferences to Edward, though it is uncertain whether he did it from an original design he had formed to betray Bruce, or from his reflecting upon the dangerous step he had taken. When Bruce parted with Cumming, he went immediately to the English court, to secure his interest with some of the Scotch lords who were about Edward's person. By this time, the latter had received Cumming's information of what had passed between him and Bruce. Many authors say, that Cumming even put into Edward's hand the counterpart of the writing which had been executed; but this is very unlikely, as it must have determined Edward, in all events, instantly to have secured Bruce. I therefore, from what followed, think, that Edward received no more evidence from Cumming than a written account of what had passed in the late interview. As Edward had a better opinion of Bruce than of Cumming, he naturally imagined that this information

His engagements with Cumming.

A. D. 1305. was groundless and malicious. He was, however, far from entirely disregarding it. He taxed Bruce with the contents of Cumming's letter; but he denied the charge with so much steadiness, that Edward was contented with ordering Bruce not to quit London without leave; and, in the mean time, placing spies upon his conduct, till the truth of Cumming's accusation could be inquired into. Gilbert earl of Gloucester, nearly related to Bruce by the female line (some have called him his brother-in-law) was then at the English court. He easily perceived that an inquiry was designed, and he suspected that it might prove fatal to Bruce, whom he loved both as a friend and a kinsman. He therefore, in the dead of night, sent Bruce a pair of spurs, with twelve shillings, by one of his domestics (called by Fordun his wardrobe-keeper) who was instructed to return them to Bruce, as having been borrowed from him by the earl. Bruce soon found out the meaning of this mystic message, and procuring three horses, set out for the North, and in seven days reached his castle of Lochmaben in Annandale. It has been generally said, that Bruce escaped in the winter time, when the ground was covered with snow, and that he caused his horses to be shod backwards, to prevent a pursuit. This was an improper stratagem, to be employed by a man whose safety depended upon his horses.

hoofs,

Fordun,

His narrow escape from London,

Rymer, vol. II. p. 988.

hoofs, especially when we consider that Edward's letter to Aymer de Valence, for apprehending him, is dated the fifth of April, 1306 *. A. D. 1306.

When Bruce arrived at Lochmaben, he there found the few friends whom he had entrusted with his design of assuming the crown; and from that moment he acted as if he had forgotten all the preceding conduct of his life. He laid the treachery of Cumming before his friends, who were his brother Edward (some say David) Robert Fleming, James Lindsay, Roger Kilpatrick, and Thomas Chartres. This small band devoted themselves to the service of Bruce, whom they acknowledged for their sovereign; and it was determined that he should begin his reign by an act of necessary justice, which was the putting Cumming to death. They resolved next morning to go in search of him; but while they were on the road, they intercepted one of Cumming's carriers with dispatches to Edward, which left them no room to doubt of his treachery, because he pressed that king to put Bruce immediately to death, on account of his great estate and following in Scotland. The same letters

He kills
Cumming.

* The continuators of Fordun, whom I have chiefly followed in the relation of Bruce's danger and escape, intimate, that Edward would certainly have either put him to death or imprisoned him, had he not been in hopes of getting into his hands his brothers and chief friends. The manner in which Bruce escaped renders improbable what some writers say, that he was a close prisoner at the time.

A.D. 1305. discovered that Cumming was then at Dumfries, to which they immediately repaired. They found Cumming at his devotions in the church of the Minorites, into which Bruce entered, leaving his friends without. He shewed Cumming the dispatches he had just intercepted, upbraided him with his falshood, and, in the warmth of the altercation, stabbed him with his dagger; then leaving the church, he found his friends at the door. The change they observed in his countenance induced them to inquire what had happened; and his answer was, that he believed he had killed Cumming. "What! (replied Lindsay) do you only believe it?" upon which he and Roger Kilpatric, entering the church, finished what Bruce had begun. In this manner is related the death of Cumming, by the hands of Bruce and his friends, by modern historians; and, if their representations are true, Bruce can be considered in little better light than an assassin. Fordun gives us a different idea of this catastrophe. He represents the meeting between Bruce and Cumming at Dumfries as an affigation, and Bruce as charging Cumming with his treachery; upon which Cumming giving him the lye, Bruce stabbed him. He was carried wounded by the friars behind their altar, and by them asked whether he could live. His answer was, that he could; which being reported to Cumming's enemies, they gave him
a fe-

a second wound, which finished his life. The English historians nearest the time, without mentioning the circumstance of Cumming's betraying Bruce, say, that they met by appointment at Dumfries; that Bruce acquainted him with his intention to assume the crown; but the other refusing to join him, he was stabbed by Bruce; upon which Cumming fled to the church, where he was dispatched by the other Bruceans.

A. D. 1306.

Walsingham.

Upon the whole, though the conduct of Bruce in stabbing Cumming cannot be vindicated, yet it receives some alleviation from the oldest, and therefore most probable, accounts. I am apt to suspect the truth not only of the compromise between Bruce and Cumming, but of the intelligence sent by the latter to Edward, and that the whole was invented to justify Bruce, and to calumniate Cumming. It was next to impossible for Bruce to have concealed his secret so as not to be suspected by Edward; who therefore might have put him under some restraint; and, upon Bruce's escaping, it was natural for him (whether he did or did not suspect Cumming) to demand from him a declaration, whether he would befriend him in his intended great undertaking. Cumming, very possibly influenced by the late oaths he had taken to Edward, disapproved of Bruce's design; and perhaps dropped some warm words, which occasioned his being wounded by Bruce. As to

A.D. 1306. to the behaviour of the latter's friends, in dispatching Cumming, there seems to be no contradiction among historians; and no doubt they thought they could not consult their own safety by acting in another manner. Before I leave this difficult point of history, I cannot help observing, that modern authors have fixed the death of Cumming to the tenth of February, 1306, old stile: so that at least seven months must have intervened between the perpetration of the act and Bruce's escape out of England; a circumstance which renders the accounts given us by Boece, Buchanan, and other modern writers, highly questionable. Along with John Cumming, Sir Edward Cumming, cousin to the deceased, who had endeavoured to save him, and some other friends and followers of Cumming, are said to have been killed, at the same time, by Bruce's followers.

Aber-
crombie,
vol. I.
P. 570.

Robert the
first, sur-
named
Bruce,

We are told by genealogists, that the ancestor of the Bruce family came into England with William the Conqueror, who rewarded him and his family with vast estates in that kingdom; and that the family was divided into an English and a Scotch branch: that the former ended about the year 1300, for defect of heirs male, but that the Scotch branch was represented by the earl of Carric, of whom I am now to treat as king. He was (as we have already seen) grandson to the first competitor of his name; and though both he and his fa-
ther

Dugdale's
Baronet.
vol. II.
P. 41.

ther had submitted to Edward, yet it is certain A.D. 1306. that they never could be brought to acknowledge Baliol as king of Scotland, which must be allowed to be a very prudent precaution. His mother was, in her own right, countess of Carric, and widow to Adam de Kilconath, who, in right of his wife, bore her title. Robert, the second competitor, father to king Robert, had served in the holy wars; and Kilconath, on his death-bed, had bequeathed to him his wife, whom he actually married; and, from her, both he and his son took the title of earl of Carric, their family before that marriage having been lords of Annandale. Robert, when he mounted the throne, had four brothers, Edward, Neil, Thomas, and Alexander; and he himself married the daughter of the earl of Mar.

Bruce and his followers, upon the death of the Cummings, saw the necessity they were under of proceeding, without loss of time, to the coronation, which we are told was performed on the twenty-fifth of March at Scone, in presence of two earls, the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the abbot of Scone, John de Athol, and John de Menteith. The prepossession of the Scots, that the placing the crown upon the king's head belonged to the family of Fife, was so strong, that Robert found ^{it} expedient to have the ceremony performed again by a descendant from the famous Macduff.

A. D. 1306.

duff, the then earl of Fife being in England, where he had married a near relation of Edward. His sister was wife of the earl of Buchan, one of the heads of the Cumming family, and consequently the determined enemy of Robert. By an uncommon effort of female patriotism, she postponed all domestic, to public, considerations; and in her husband's absence repaired, with all his war-equipages, to Scone, where she delivered them up to Bruce, and placed the crown upon his head. This crown is said to have been made by one Conyers, an Englishman, who narrowly escaped being punished by Edward. That prince now found, that the subjection of Scotland to his power was far from being completed; and it was with astonishment he heard of Bruce's coronation. To stop his farther progress, he ordered the earl of Pembroke, the same who is called Aymer de Valence, to march into Scotland at the head of a small body of troops.

Consequences of
Cumming's
death.

The death of Cumming operated variously upon the minds of the Scots. It was resented by the numerous and powerful friends of his family, as an inhuman assassination; and they joined Edward in revenging it. Many, tho' friends to their country, seeing no end to her calamities, and apprehending that they were beginning anew, wished for the peaceful continuance of the English government in Scotland, disgraceful as it was. Upon the whole,
how-

however, Cumming's death proved beneficial to Bruce. He had always been considered by his countrymen as a promising, accomplished, young nobleman, but wedded to Edward's person and government, and therefore he never had been trusted by the independent patriots who had joined Wallace; but their confidence was now won by his rendering himself past all possibility of reconciliation with Edward; especially after he had assumed the crown. He soon saw himself at the head of a small army; but, by this time, the English troops under the earl of Pembroke were arrived in Scotland. As that nobleman knew Edward was preparing to set out for Scotland, and to take upon himself the command of his armies there, he resolved to signalize himself before he should be superseded. A Scotch baron, one John Mowbray, a person of great courage and following, but of the English party, encouraged the earl in this resolution, by informing him, that Bruce's army was made up of raw recruits, and that he might be easily surprized.

Bruce having had no time to discipline his men, had formed a camp at Methven, near Perth, which was the head-quarter of the English general, and there lay upon the defensive; well knowing the disadvantage he was under, from his men not being disci-

Bruce defeated at Methven.

A. D. 1306. plined *. He had already attempted to surprize Perth; but failing in his design, he had retired to Methven, from whence he sent a challenge to the earl to fight him. According to Barbour, and the best historians, the challenge was accepted; but on the night before the day appointed, which was the twentieth of July, while the Scots thought themselves secure, and were unprovided for battle, they were attacked and routed by their enemies in the park at Methven. Barbour says, that many of them were quartered at different places in the neighbourhood; and all historians agree,

* I shall, in the remaining part of this reign, refer to an author who, though his authority is unexceptionable, has been unaccountably overlooked by our historians. His name is John Barbour, who lived in the reign of David Bruce, son to king Robert, whom I now treat of. This Barbour was archdeacon of Aberdeen, and had a pension from the king of Scotland for writing the life of Robert, which is still extant. The copy I make use of is in what is called black letter; and though the work itself is in verse, it does not at all detract from its authenticity, the rythmical mode of writing history being then prevalent, as appears from Winton, and other authors. Though we find many particulars in Barbour's performance which are omitted by prose writers, yet we meet with none that they do not confirm. After all, though I have no doubt as to the veracity of the work, yet I can by no means account for its style, which is little, if at all, inferior to that of Chaucer, who lived in the reign of Henry the fifth of England, and consequently was contemporary with James the first of Scotland, in 1424. This circumstance renders it a little doubtful, whether Barbour's language might not have received some polishing about the reign of James the first, who was himself no mean poet, and is said to have been a disciple of Chaucer; but for this conjecture I have no authority.

that

that Bruce behaved with the greatest heroism, and had three horses killed under him. Being known by the slaughter he made, and his men, all to a few friends, flying, Mowbray rushed upon him, and catching at his horse's bridle, called out, "I have hold of the new-made king;" but he was delivered by Christopher Seton. It appears from Barbour that, though Bruce was defeated, the number of slain on his side was but inconsiderable; and his loss consisted principally in the prisoners that were made; the chief of whom were Sir Thomas Randolph, Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir David Barclay, Inchmartin, Hugh de la Hay, and Somerwell. The English returned to Perth, and the earl of Pembroke sent an account to Edward of the victory he had obtained. Some Scotch historians say, that the English general put to death all his prisoners of note. We are informed more truly by Barbour, that Edward did indeed send such an order, but that the earl pardoned all who were willing to swear fealty to his master, which Randolph and others of the greatest consideration did; many of them, however, were hanged and quartered *.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, found himself deserted by most of his army. For-

His difficulties and distresses.

* There is somewhat very sententious in Barbour's description of this catastrophe.

Some they ransom'd, and some they slew,
And some they hang'd, and some they drew.

A.D. 1306.

dun very justly observes, that though his loss in the late battle was but inconsiderable, yet it discouraged his followers, and gave great spirits to his enemies. The English general had taken prisoners numbers of women whose husbands had followed Bruce; and to increase his misfortunes, they were all, under pain of death, ordered to follow their husbands. The difficulty of such a number of outlaws, as they may be termed, subsisting in the field, drove most of them to their habitations; and Bruce, in a few days, found his army dwindled to five hundred men. His brother Sir Edward, Sir William Haliburton, the earls of Athol and Lenox, James lord Douglas, Sir Gilbert Hay, and Sir Neil Campbell, are mentioned as being his firm friends; and Barbour has related some circumstances of this hero's adventures, which are omitted by other historians. He tells us, that Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, went to Aberdeen, where he was met by his brother Sir Neil, his wife, and a number of other ladies, who heroically offered to follow his fortune in all its extremes. However heroic this behaviour might be, yet it put Bruce and his noble attendants to great inconveniences to find subsistence for the ladies, who were at last persuaded to retire to Bruce's castle of Kildrommey, under the protection of Sir Neil and the earl of Athol. By this time, Bruce had no more attendants than two hundred men; and winter
coming

coming on, he resolved to go to Argyleshire, where Sir Neil Campbell's estate lay, whom he dispatched before-hand to prepare for his reception. He encountered incredible fatigues on his journey thither, and some of his men were cut off at a place called Dalry; which discouraged his few remaining followers so much, that he was left without any other attendants than Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir James (who is sometimes called lord) Douglas, and a few of their domestics. It was with great difficulty that they passed Lochlomond; but Bruce kept up the spirits of his little party, by recounting to them the adventures of princes and patriots under the like circumstances with himself. Having crossed Lochlomond in a little crazy boat, he was discovered by his trusty friend the earl of Lenox, who had been proscribed by the English, and was then living in a kind of exile upon his own estate. Their meeting, as described by Barbour, was extremely affecting; for it drew tears from their eyes, and those of all present. Lenox, who had heard nothing of Bruce's misfortunes, had plenty of provisions, which recruited the spirits of his half-famished guests; but they were soon made sensible, that it was impossible for them, after it was discovered that Bruce was in those parts, to live in a place where they were surrounded by their enemies. Sir Neil Campbell had foreseen this, and had provided some shipping to carry them
to

A. D. 1306. to sea. They scarcely had set sail, when they were pursued by a squadron of the enemy's ships; and it was with great difficulty that the bark which carried the earl of Lenox escaped being taken, and reached Cantire, where Bruce had already landed, after cruising some time off the Isle of Bute. Upon the meeting of Bruce and the earl, they agreed that their persons never after should be separated, whilst they were alive.

He sails to
Cantire.

Edward's
vast prepara-
tions.

Edward, at this time, was compromising some differences with his English subjects; and when these were finished, he resumed his often baffled resolution of finally subduing Scotland. His intention was to divide the lands of the suspected or disaffected there, among his English followers; for he ordered proclamation to be made, that all who had any title to the honour of knighthood, either by heritage or estate, should repair to Westminster, to receive all military ornaments, their horses excepted, from his royal ward-robe. The prince of Wales coming under the description of this proclamation, was the first who underwent the ceremony, which gave him a right to confer the like honour on the sons of above three hundred of the chief nobility and gentry of England. The prince then repaired at the head of this gallant train to Edward. He received them, surrounded by his nobility, in the most solemn manner. He harangued them upon the
treas-

treachery of the Scots, whose destruction he vowed. He declared his resolution of once more heading an expedition in person; and he ominously desired, in case of his death, that his body should be carried to Scotland, and kept unburied till that perfidious race was signally chastised. He then ordered all present to join him with their attendants and military equipages, at Carlisle, fifteen days after Midsummer. He was obeyed accordingly, and entered Scotland soon after Bruce's defeat at Methven. He then made two divisions of his army, one commanded by himself, and the other by the prince of Wales, and, under him, by the earls of Lancashire and Hereford, with orders to proceed northwards, and penetrate into the countries where the Brucean interest was the strongest. In the mean time, the bishop of Glasgow fell into Edward's hands: his life was spared on account of his function, but all the Scots of every denomination, who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners, and were suspected to be Bruceans, were executed.

A.D. 1306.

He entered
Scotland.

The march of the prince of Wales northwards alarmed Bruce's queen, and she was advised to take sanctuary at the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross-shire; but there she was made a prisoner by William earl of Ross, who was of the English party, and Edward ordered her to be sent to London; and her daughter, who was taken at the same time, to be shut up in a religious

Bruce's
queen and
daughter
taken pri-
soners.

A.D. 1306. gious house. After this, the castle of Kildromey, which had been well provided, was besieged. The garrison made so brave a defence, that the English were beginning to despair of taking it, when the castle was set on fire by a traitor, one Osborn: the garrison falling into the hands of the English, the common men were hanged, but Sir Neil Bruce and the earl of Athol were sent prisoners to Edward, who behaved on this occasion with a most unmanly fury. All the favour the earl of Athol received, was that of being hanged at London on a gallows fifty feet high, and his friend Sir Neil suffered the like death. About the same time, the countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was made a prisoner, as was the lady Mary Bruce, sister to the king. Edward, with almost unparalleled barbarity, ordered those two ladies to be inclosed in wooden cages, one of which was hung over the battlements of Roxburgh, and the other of Berwick, as public spectacles. Thomas and Alexander Bruce, brothers to the king, suffered death about the same time, as did Sir Christopher Seton and his brother John, Sir Simon Fraser, Walter Logan, Herbert Norham, Thomas Boece, and John Wallace, brother to the celebrated Sir William. Some historians say (I know not with what truth) that those martyrs for their country's liberty were tortured before they were executed. Their examples had such an effect upon the great steward of

with his
other
friends.

of Scotland, that he submitted to Edward, who published at this time the directions which the reader will find in the notes, to his governors in Scotland *.

A. D. 1306.

* "It was agreed, by the king and his council, that the guardian of Scotland should cause to be proclaimed in all cities, boroughs, and market-towns, and in all other places where he thought fit, that all such who were against the king in the last war, and were not come to his peace, and others who had committed felonies and other crimes, for which they ought to lose life or member, and were not taken, should be apprehended by any persons wherever they came; and, to that purpose, were to levy hue and cry, with horn and mouth, and pursue them with force from town to town, and county to county, until they rendered themselves, or were taken, dead or alive: and that those who neglected to do this, should lose all their goods, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The guard was likewise to enquire after the receivers of such persons, that they might have such justice as they deserved.

"It was then likewise accorded, that all those who were guilty, and abettors, of the death of John Cumming, should be drawn and hanged; and those that advised and assented to it, and those who, after the fact, knowingly and willingly, or freely received them, should have the same judgment: and those that were guilty of his death, that were or should be taken by force in this war against the king, should be hanged, or have their heads cut off, and their receivers to have the same judgment.

"And all that were against the king, in the war, at any time, as well before as in and after the battle of Methven, those who were the most notorious and dangerous of them should be put in prison, where the king should appoint, and not be released but by his orders.

"And those who willingly were of the party of Robert Bruce, or who were aiding, advising, procuring, or persuading the people to rise, contrary to law, and were thereof convicted, whether clerks or others, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

"And it was ordained, that the people of Scotland, who were forced to rise against the king in this war, should be fined as the guardian should see cause, and according to their offence. And

A. D. 1306.
Adventures
of Bruce

The successes of Edward did not prevent his feeling the most bitter disquiets, on account of Bruce. Some said he was dead, and all agreed that he was in so despicable a situation, that he never could be again in a condition to give disturbance to the English government; and indeed all appearances served to confirm that opinion. Finding himself no longer safe in Kintire, he removed to the castle of Dumbarton, which belonged to a nobleman whom Barbour calls the lord and leader of Kintire. Having reason to believe that he was not secure there, in three days time he sailed to the little island of Rachrin, which lies off the coast of Ireland, where he so effectually concealed himself, that he was generally believed to be dead. Here we are told that he composed a Latin consolatory poem; but only the two following lines of it are come to our hands.

Ni me Scotorum libertas prisca moveret,
Non tantum paterer orbis ob imperium.

Such woes, did not my suffering country call,
I would not bear, to rule this earthly ball.

in the western
isles.

Notwithstanding the report of Bruce's death, his party was daily, though secretly, gaining ground. When he landed at Rachrin, he was

for the greater authority and execution of this agreement, the king caused it to pass under his seal of Scotland, and bears date at Lanercost."

attend-

A.D. 1306.

attended by three hundred men, which alarmed the people of the island; but upon Bruce's discovering who he was, they were overjoyed at his arrival, and furnished him with plenty of provisions for all his party; a circumstance that cannot well be accounted for, but by supposing that they were brought from the nearest parts of Ireland. Though he was thus wonderfully concealed from his enemies, through the inviolable attachment of his friends, he soon became apprehensive that the report of his death might be credited by his party in Scotland, so as to occasion the ruin of his cause in that kingdom. Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd were the first who proposed to surprize a fort on the isle of Arran, which was held by the English under Sir John Hastings. This they not only performed, but put the greatest part of the garrison to the sword. The king, hearing of their success, followed them to Arran, where, being landed, he was at some loss to discover the place where his friends resided. Here we are informed, by Barbour, of a circumstance which marks the manners of the northern nations at that time; for we are told that Bruce's arrival was known to Boyd and Douglas, by his blowing a horn. Their meeting was very joyful; and Bruce sent a trusty servant, one Cuthbert, to his own country of Carric, to enquire into its state, with orders, if he found it well affected to his cause, to

A. D. 1303. light a fire on a certain point near his castle of Turnberry, from whence it seems he could discern it from Arran. Cuthbert met with but small encouragement in his enquiries, for he understood that Bruce's estate had been granted to the lord Henry Piercy. Bruce, however, at last discerned, as he thought, the signal, and ordered his little vessels to be put to sea *. We

* I believe there is nothing incredible in Bruce's seeing the signal by fire, especially as he was provided with small craft, some of which he might order to cruise off the continent. Barbour, however, here mentions another circumstance, which may seem pretty extraordinary to modern readers, who are unacquainted with the famous gift of prophecy, commonly called the second sight, to which the natives of the western islands have immemorably laid claim. He tells us, that when Bruce was going on board, his hostess took him aside, promised him success in his undertaking; and to testify the confidence she had in the truth of her prediction, she sent her two sons along with him to follow his fortunes. The good woman might have done this, it is true, from a spirit rather of loyalty than prophecy; but we learn from Barbour, that it was ascribed to the latter. The reason why I mention this story, is to do justice to Barbour, whose reflections upon it are those of a true philosopher. He tells us, though many clerks, or learned men, study the stars, or what is called astrology; yet the science is very uncertain, because man is a free agent; and has it in his power, by reason and virtue, to oppose the effect of any constellation he may be born under. To prove this, he instances the examples of the philosopher, who, though kindly (that is naturally) inclined to all manner of vice, over-ruled his stars, and, by reason and reflection, arrived at the summit of virtue. The manner in which our author expresses himself, is as uncommon for those days, as his manly way of thinking.

For whether that man inclined be,
To vertue or iniquitie,
Hee may right well refraine his will,
Either through vertue, or through skill,
And to the contrare turn it all,
As hath been many time seen fall,

That

are here to observe, that the English ministers in Scotland seem to have had a particular eye upon the western counties, where they knew Bruce's natural interest lay. The government of Arran had been committed to Sir John Hastings; and Bruce, with his followers, had the good fortune to surprize one of his convoys, which brought them a very seasonable supply both of arms and provisions. His numbers, when he embarked, were about four hundred; and his first exploit was to surprize his own castle of Turnberry, from whence he drove Piercy and the English garrison.

The fire which Bruce's party had seen, had not been kindled by Cuthbert, (who met them in their landing) but by accident. Cuthbert put them upon their guard against the English, who were in full possession of the country. Bruce was soon joined by a lady of fortune (whose name has not come to our hands) who brought him forty warriors, and informed him of the dismal fate of his wife, relations, and friends, who had been put to death, or kept prisoners by Edward. This was so far from daunting Bruce,

That meen kindlie to ill given,
Through their great wit away have driven
Their ill, and worthen of renowne,
Maugre the constellatioun.

I hope my readers will not think this note an unnecessary digression, as it is meant to vindicate the character of Barbour, who was not only furnished with the best means of information, but was above the vulgar prepossessions of that age and country.

that

A. D. 1306.

Exploits of
Douglas.

that it gave an edge to his resolution to be revenged on his enemies. His success in Carric determined the lord Douglas to try his fortune in like manner upon his estate of Douglas-dale, which had been bestowed by Edward upon the English lord Clifford. Bruce consented, and Douglas was joined by a friend and descendant of his family, one Thomas Dickson, a man of considerable fortune, who gave him all the intelligence he could desire concerning the state of the country. The success of Bruce in Arran and Carric had been partly owing to the winter season; and it was towards the end of Lent, when Douglas arrived at Douglas-dale. By Dickson's counsel, Douglas kept himself private till Palm-Sunday, when he and his chief followers, in homely habits over their armour, repaired to St. Bride's church, where the English were celebrating divine service. Though the latter were surprised, yet they made a brave defence in the chancel; but being over-powered, Douglas, without resistance, re-entered into possession of his own castle, which he found nobly furnished with provisions, arms, and money. He destroyed all he could not carry with him, with the castle itself, where he knew he must be besieged, if he kept it.

Barbour.

Bruce's danger from assassination;

In the mean time, Bruce remained in Carric, but had sent his brother Edward into Galloway with a detachment; so that he had not above two hundred men about his own person. The earl

earl of Pembroke was then at Edinburgh; and hearing of Bruce's progress, he sent a body of troops under Sir Ingram Umfraville to Air, to check him. Umfraville, who thought Bruce a perjured traitor, hired one of the inhabitants of that country, and his two sons, whom Bruce particularly trusted, to murder him, for a reward of forty pounds worth of land. Bruce was apprized of their treason, but did not believe it; and the three assassins attacked him near a thicket, where he used to meditate, attended only by a page. By the manner of their approaching, he perceived their intent; and snatching his page's bow, which was strung with a wire, he shot the father through the brain, and dispatched the two sons with his sword. As Bruce excelled all his contemporaries in personal dexterity and courage, there is nothing incredible in this adventure; but we can by no means give credit to some others of the same kind, that have been related by the Scotch writers, to perpetuate the fame of their hero. It is certain, that his affairs were brought to a very low pass while Umfraville lay at Air. Most of the Galloway men were his enemies; and, upon the whole, he must have possessed amazing abilities, both of body and mind, to escape, as he did, the dangers which beset him on all sides. The success of Douglas still continued in Douglas-dale; but hearing that the earl of Pembroke and the lord Lorn,

A. D. 1306. Lorn, who was Bruce's determined enemy, were preparing to march into the West country, with such a force as should surround the latter, Douglas immediately marched to join him. Upon this intelligence, Bruce retired to an eminence; but the lord Lorn, who knew the country, leaving the earl of Pembroke with the main body in Bruce's front, made a circuit round the hill to attack him in the rear. Bruce thought it impossible for him to escape, and desired his men to shift for themselves, after appointing them a place of rendezvous; though others say that he divided them into three bodies, whom he ordered to retire by three different routes; and thus escaped the danger *. Lord Lorn returned to the earl of Pembroke, who issued through all the country

and the
power of
his ene-
mies.

* The ancient manners of the Scots seem so uncouth to modern readers, even of that country, that I shall not venture to insert, in the body of this history, the particulars of this extraordinary escape. It is an undoubted fact, that the slowth or slaughter-hound, now called a blood-hound, was then common in Scotland, and had a prodigious sagacity of following on the foot of any man. According to Barbour, Lorn was possessed of one of those hounds, which had been bred up by Bruce; and upon the latter dispersing his army, this hound was sent upon his foot; and Lorn observing his track, knew that he was in quest of Bruce, who was attended only by one person, who is called his foster-brother. Lorn sent five men in pursuit of them; but they delivered themselves by their valour, and escaped into a wood, where there was a brook, which they crossed, and thereby foiled the scent of the slowth-hound, which is extinguished by running-water. Barbour, who seems very ingenuous, tells us other accounts say, that one of Bruce's followers, hiding himself in a bush, killed the slowth-hound with an arrow.

pro-

proclamations, promising a reward for killing or taking Bruce. It was with the utmost difficulty, and not till after he lost his faithful foster-brother, that he reached the place of rendezvous, where he was soon joined by his brother and Douglas, who were followed by the rest of their small party; and this seems to have been the crisis of Bruce's sufferings *.

Edward remained all this time in Carlisle, impatient to hear the success of the earl of Pembroke's expedition. Every day gave fresh proofs of his implacable hatred of the Scots. Their mangled bodies were exposed on gibbets in all public places; and even submission could not now procure them pardon. The state of Edward's domestic affairs, his age, and bodily infirmities, did not, at this time, suffer him to take the field. In the parliament which he held at Carlisle, he had banished Pierce de Gaveston, his son's Gascon favourite; and he

Conduct of
Edward.

* Fordun gives us a most frightful account of the sufferings of Bruce before and at this time; and in the copy of the edition published by Mr. Hearne, some Latin lines are added by a more modern hand; together with a Scottish translation, which seems to have been made about Barbour's time. These lines very probably were composed by Bruce himself; and they are meant to instruct his subjects in the manner he would have them to make war, which was, by betaking themselves to mountains, moor (moorica terra), and woods, and by destroying all means of their enemies subsistence, who must thereupon retire. The concluding words are, "rege docente Roberto," which is thus translated in the Scotch version.

This is the counsel and intent
Of good king Robert's testament.

A. D. 1307. concluded the marriage that had been so long depending between his son, the prince of Wales, and the French princess.

Bruce's
party har-
rasses the
English.

The place of rendezvous for Bruce's followers is said to have been the wood of Glentroul, near Cumnock; and the cruelty of the English had encreased them. The earl of Pembroke and his army continued still in the neighbourhood, but were so harraressed by their Scotch enemies, that the earl thought proper to repair to Carlisle for fresh orders. Having received them, he returned to Scotland, where he heard that Bruce was still in the wood of Glentroul; that he and his men subsisted themselves by hunting; but that they had taken up an encampment where they could not be attacked by horse. The earl expected every day to be joined by the lord Clifford, and a body of troops from the north of England; and delayed attacking Bruce till they should arrive. The earl was, however, betrayed by one of his spies, a Scotch-woman; upon which Bruce suddenly attacked a party of about fifteen hundred, and put them to the rout. Soon after, Clifford came up, and reproached the earl of Pembroke with suffering himself to be surprized by so inconsiderable a handful of Scots; which gave such disgust to the earl, that he left the army. Upon his departure, Bruce, who was now at the head of a thousand men, ventured to quit his fastnesses, and marched into Cunn-
ningham

ningham and Kyle; where Douglas defeated Sir Philip Mowbray. By this time, the earl of Pembroke had resumed the command of the English army; and, in the manner of those times, he sent a message, reproaching Bruce for having gained all his advantages by surprise, and challenging him to fight him on a plain at the bottom of London-hill. Bruce is said to have accepted the challenge, and to have defeated the earl, who retired to the castle of Bothwell, and resigned his command to the duke of Bretagne. We are told (though I can find no mention of it made by Barbour) that about the same time Bruce defeated the earl of Gloucester (Ralph de Monthermer) and obliged him to take refuge in the castle of Air, where he was besieged till he was relieved by a fresh army of the English *.

A.D. 1307.

Edward continued at Carlisle, and was making preparations to invade Scotland with more fury, if possible, than ever, when he was seized with his last illness, which proved to be a dysentery, or flux; and it put an end to his life, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, at a place called Burgh on the Sands. It has been generally said, that Edward, when on his death-bed, called for his son, who was now returned

Death of
Edward the
first.

* I am inclined to think, that this was not in consequence of any new action, but that the earl served under the earl of Pembroke at the battle of Loudon-hill, from whence he fled to Air.

A.D. 1307. to England, and his noblemen, into his presence, where he exacted from them an oath, that, in case of his death, they should carry his body to Scotland, as if it had been a charm, inanimate as it was, to complete the miseries and subjection of the Scots *. But this oath, perhaps, is of a piece with the story of Edward having, with his last breath, ordered forty young men, who had been taken prisoners in the castle of Kildrommey, to be put to death.

Progress of
Bruce.

It is no wonder, if the death of the first Edward, and the character of his son, a dissipated young man, raised the spirits of the Brucean party, which was every day encreasing. He had, by this time, reduced the western counties; and his friend, the brave earl of Douglas, had made great progress in the South; but he knew the strength of his enemies lay in the North, where he likewise had many friends. He therefore appointed Douglas his lieutenant south of the Forth, and set out for the North, where the earl of Buchan, Sir John Mowbray, David lord of Brechin, and other powerful barons, were assembling numerous forces to oppose him. Bruce was attended by his brother Edward, the earl of Lenox, Sir Gilbert Hay, and Sir Robert Boyd; and he marched by the famous ridge

* I find no mention made of this ridiculous oath in a curious ballad which was composed about this time, and which is printed by the ingenious Mr. Percy, in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. II, p. 7.

of hills, called the Caerney-Month, or the Stony Mountain. He was joined in his march by Sir Alexander Frazer and his brother Simon, at the head of their clan; but his fatigues were so excessive, that he fell ill, and was carried to Inveroury in a litter. Being destitute of all help from physic, his body was there reduced to a very low condition; but his place was supplied in the field by his brother. It was thought proper to carry him, weak as he was, to the castle of Slenath, then a place of some strength, in which he was soon besieged by the lords of the Cumming party, but so bravely defended by his followers, that the assailants, after continuing the attack four days, were forced to retire with great loss. Bruce's party every day increased, and he himself was recovering his strength, when they found it impossible to subsist longer where they were, especially as it was now the winter time. It was therefore resolved to carry the king to Strathbolgy, a more plentiful country. Being placed once more in his litter, he began his march in defiance of his enemies, who, after being defeated at Inveroury, retired towards Old Meldrum. A fruitless attempt, which was made by the lord of Brechin to surprise Bruce, gave the latter so much pleasure, that he said his enemies had done him more service than all the medicines his friends could administer. He then mounted his horse, and
march-

A.D. 1307.

Bruce de-
feats his
enemies.

Marching towards Old Meldrum, he attacked his enemies so briskly, that he obtained a complete victory. The earl of Buchan and Mowbray fled towards England, and the lord of Brechin shut himself up in his own castle, which was immediately besieged by the earl of Athol, Bruce's friend, son to that earl of Athol who had been put to death by Edward. As to Bruce, he took a severe revenge upon the county of Buchan, which he laid waste. His successes encouraged his friends, and daunted his enemies, so much, that he soon became master of Inverness, and all the parts north the Caetney-Month, which determined him to march towards the Merns, Angus, and Perthshire. The castle of Forfar, which was held by an English garrison, was surprised and demolished by Sir Philip Frazer; but Bruce found more resistance at the town of Perth, which was defended by the Methvens and the Oliphants, under the earl of Strathern, whose sons however were in the Brucean army. The siege continued for six weeks; but, at last, by feigning a retreat, Bruce took the town, and ordered its fortifications to be destroyed: he himself in person being the second, if not the first man, who scaled the wall. Upon the reduction of Perth, Bruce sent his brother Edward to Galloway, there to make head against the lord of Lorn. But it is now time to look southwards,

He takes
Perth.

Ed-

Edward the second was too much employed in festivities, upon his accession to the crown, to execute his father's plans with the vigour and rapidity they required. Having taken the homage of his nobility, and, among the rest, of the earl of Dunbar, who was one of the late commissioners for settling the affairs of Scotland, and was commonly designed the earl Patric; he recalled Gaveston from his banishment, and ordered his father's body to be interred at Westminster. He squandered upon his worthless favourites the immense sums, amounting to a hundred thousand pounds, which his father had amassed for carrying on the war against Scotland. His conduct, in short, was so dilatory, that Sir Edward Bruce beat Umfraville in Galloway. This English general was at the head of twelve hundred men, and ordered a red bonnet to be carried before him on a pole, wherever he went, in token of his authority over the Scots. The battle was fought near Cree, and Umfraville shut himself up in the castle of Bothwell. Sir Edward Bruce was next encountered by Sir Aymery St. John, at a time when he had no more than fifty men about him. Barbour (who had his information from Sir Allan Cathcart, then serving under Sir Edward) says, that the English were favoured by a thick fog; and when it cleared up, the handful of Scots were within bowshot of the English army, who were attacked so briskly by the Scots, whom

A. D. 1307.
Edward's
inconfi-
dence con-
duct.

A. D. 1307. whom they supposed to be far more numerous, that the English gave way. Barbour, on this occasion, gives his countrymen a victory; but their escaping such imminent destruction by their valour, certainly does them sufficient honour. We are, however, still to bear in mind, that, in those days, before artillery was discovered, personal valour and strength performed actions next to incredible *. Sir Edward was, next to his brother, reckoned the best knight in Scotland: and, besides his various battles and encounters, he took no fewer than thirteen castles; so that he reduced all the western counties to his brother's allegiance.

and of
Robert,

The prodigious hardships and toils which Bruce had undergone, his patience in bearing, and his heroism in surmounting them, began now to render him the darling of his country; and never was any prince, in like circumstances, better served by his friends. Douglas continued still successful in the South, and in the forest of Etrick, which was invaded by Stuart of Bonkil, second son to Alexander high-steward of Scotland, Sir Thomas Randolph, and Sir Adam Gordon. They were surprised by

* This observation is confirmed by the history of all countries, especially about the times of the crusades; witness the actions of Richard the first. The best English historians have told us most surprising feats of their princes in later times, even after artillery came to be known; I mean Edward the third, and his son Henry the fourth, and Henry the fifth.

A.D. 1307.

Douglas, who took and made prisoners Stewart and Randolph, the latter being nephew to Bruce. Next day, they were presented by Douglas to the king, who put his nephew in mind of his duty, and courted his friendship. Randolph, instead of complying, reproached his uncle with his perjury towards Edward, and of his having gained all his advantages by surprize; upon which he was committed to prison. Bruce, who was now joined by the lord Douglas, next marched against the lord Lorn. He was then attended by Sir Alexander Frazer, Sir Andrew Gray, and other knights, who had followed him from the North; but his force was inferior to that of Lorn, who not only had an army of two thousand men, strongly encamped on the brow of a hill, but was provided with a squadron of ships. Douglas and a party of Bruce's men mounted the hill, and suddenly attacked their enemies in the rear, while they were engaged with Bruce in the front. The resistance made by Lorn's men was very gallant; but they were cut in pieces, and their chief with difficulty escaped to his ships. Bruce, after gaining this victory, reduced the castle of Dunstaffage, which was held by Alexander Macdougall of Argyle, Lorn's father, who immediately swore allegiance to Bruce. The great following which Lorn had in the western islands occasioned, about this time, an invasion by Donald, who

who defeats
his enemies.

A. D. 1307. is stiled Lord of the Isles; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sir Edward Bruce; and a gentleman of the name of Binny, a Scotch loyalist, surprised and demolished the famous peel, or castle, of Linlithgow, which (as we have already seen) had been erected by Edward the first.

Bruce reconciled to his nephew, whom he created earl of Murray.

The undaunted spirit discovered by Randolph, rendered him an object worthy of his uncle's attention. Bruce, no doubt, was well acquainted with the virtues and excellencies of his nephew, who afterwards proved one of the best foldiers, and most accomplished gentlemen of his age and country. Barbour, who knew him personally, describes him as having been a well made little man, pleasing and polite in conversation, constant, faithful, and generous, but passionately fond of arms. Being young, he possibly had never properly considered his uncle's title to the crown: when, better instructed in his confinement, he shewed himself very tractable, and afterwards proved the chief ornament of Bruce's reign.

Bruce's difficulties.

Some English historians inform us of a check which Bruce received at this time from the earl of Bretagne, or rather Richmond, who was still the English governor of Scotland. But the loss of Bruce must have been very inconsiderable, for he never seems to have left the field; and he was, at the period I treat of, at the head of a number of chosen followers, who had the face of an army.

A. D. 1308.

army. His greatest distress arose from his own precautions, for his troops were often straitened by his having laid waste the country, to prevent the English from subsisting.

It was in the year 1308 that Bruce reduced the castles of Brechin and Forfar; and soon after Umfraville, who had been, by Edward, created earl of Angus, and Ross of Hamelock, were appointed the English guardians of Scotland. In the year 1309, Bruce had acquired so much reputation, that he began to attract the attention of foreign courts, particularly that of France, where Edward, through the madness of his conductors, now became despicable. He had represented Bruce as being no other than a lawless rebel to himself and his father, and was at great pains to persuade the public, that his father-in-law, Philip king of France, had never acknowledged Bruce on the footing of an ally; but Bruce was now of too great importance to be overlooked by the king of France. He knew that while Scotland was independent, France was always sure of an ally against the power of England; and therefore he privately kept up a correspondence with Bruce, apologising, perhaps, for not recognizing him as a sovereign prince, on account of the measures he was obliged to keep with his son-in-law, the king of England. The agent in this correspondence was Oliver de Roches, a Frenchman. He had

1309.

His correspondence with France,

A. D. 1309. been for some time a private resident with Bruce, who magnanimously resolved to put an end to all doubt, with regard to the part he was acting.

which is
discovered
by Edward.

Edward the second, weak as he was, copied his father's example, in treating with the states of Scotland, but without acknowledging Bruce, or any other person, to be king. Being at this time embarrassed with his nobility, he found his hands bound up; and unable to take the field, he sent the earl of Gloucester, and some other noblemen, to treat with the states of Scotland about a truce, or an accommodation, in which William Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrew's, who had obtained his liberty for that purpose, was to be the chief agent. Bruce, as great a politician as he was a warrior, summoned a parliament, or meeting of his states, at St. Andrew's, where his authority, as sovereign of Scotland, was fully recognized. By this time, Edward had discovered the secret correspondence between Bruce and his father-in-law, the king of France. He found that Mahen de Varennes, one of Philip's ministers, had, according to the duplicity of that prince's character, sent Bruce a public letter addressed to the earl of Carric; but that he had directed to him another, which was locked up in a box directed to the king of Scotland. Edward complained bitterly of this insidious management, but with-

out

Rymer's
Fœdera,
vol. II. p.
94, & 149.

out effect; for, in a letter sent to himself soon after by Philip, the latter mentions Bruce as king of Scotland. The Scots nobility, to take away all doubt of Robert's title with foreign princes, addressed at the same time a letter from St. Andrew's to Philip, wherein they say, "That they had recognized king Robert's right to the crown of Scotland; that the parliament held at St. Andrew's had, with great joy, received his majesty's letters of credence; that they greatly applauded his pious design towards recovering the Holy Land, and were highly sensible of the great honour done them in commemorating the antient leagues betwixt the kingdoms of France and Scotland; and of his taking notice of the great wrong and oppression they had unjustly sustained; and, in particular, for his singular love and affection towards their king, and the liberties of their country."

Symon's
Hist. of the
Stewarts,
p. 100.

The bishop of St. Andrew's, to do somewhat to deserve his liberty, had brought the states of Scotland, previous, I suppose, to the meeting in which they recognized Bruce's title, to agree to a truce with Edward, which was to last from Christmas to the feast of All-Saints following. Bruce, though he disregarded this truce, as not being concluded by proper authority, availed himself of the respite it gave him. He had been excommunicated for the death of Cumming; but so free were the Scots, of those days, from papal

Bruce freed
from his ex-
communica-
tion.

A.D. 1309. papal prepossessions, that he found no inconvenience from the excommunication, after he was absolved by an ecclesiastic of his own party. Though the Scots, even in the English interest, were fully satisfied with this absolution, yet some doubts arising in foreign courts, with regard to the excommunication, Bruce thought proper to apply to the court of Rome for a more ample absolution. Edward had, at this time, some differences with the pope, on account of thirty-five thousand pounds claimed by the latter, as due to the Romish see by the late king; so that Bruce easily succeeded in his application, and a formal bull was expedited, clearing him from the murder.

His conduct
towards
England.

Notwithstanding the promising face of king Robert's affairs in Scotland (for we are to consider him as such, after his recognition by the states) the English still maintained a great footing in his kingdom, and the pope's nuncio laboured hard for a peace. Bruce refused to agree to any while the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, and other forts, were still in possession of the English, not to mention the great noblemen who were still in their interest. The growing differences between Edward the second and his nobility, on account of Gaveston, encouraged Robert to name Sir Neil Campbell and Sir John Menteith to treat with the earls of Ulster and Angus, merely to gain time; but without interrupting hostilities, for
he

he was every day gaining some advantage over the English. There is reason, from an old English author, to believe, that he might have made his own terms with Edward, if he would have joined him, in favour of Gaveston, against his nobility; but Robert, with equal prudence and magnanimity, rejected the proposal. Edward had appointed his nobility to meet him at York on the eighteenth of October; and though the meeting was very thin, on account of their dislike to Gaveston, he appointed the earl of Gloucester, in the room of Robert de Clifford, his captain-general in Scotland, and ordered his military tenants to be assembled at Newcastle.

Though Edward's government was, at this time, extremely disagreeable to the English, yet their chief nobility were disgusted with the successes of Robert, which they thought reflected dishonour upon their country. Edward had found means to assemble a very considerable army at Newcastle; but such was his blind partiality for Gaveston, that he hesitated whether he should employ it against the Scots or his own nobility. In the mean time, the king of France endeavoured to mediate between Robert and Edward; and obtained from the latter a commission for constituting the earl of Angus, John Cromwal, John Vogan, and John Benestead, as his plenipotentiaries for treating of a truce with the Scots. This commission is dated

A. D. 1309. dated the twenty-ninth of November, 1309; but Robert, without regarding it, laid siege to the castle of Ruthglen, which the earl of Gloucester was ordered to relieve. Before this could be done, the English nobility had obliged Edward to agree to an act, by which, in fact, he put the executive power of government into their hands, on pretence of his being left thereby more at liberty to prosecute the war against the Scots. John de Segrave was appointed Edward's governor in Scotland; the earl of Ulster was ordered to make a descent there with a strong body of Irish; the sea-port towns all over England agreed to furnish shipping for the expedition; John Caunton was to land with a body of troops at Perth, to carry the war at once into the very vitals of the kingdom; while Edward himself was to enter it with a most formidable army.

A fresh invasion of Scotland,

1310.

Whatever despicable notions we may have of Edward, these certainly were wise and spirited dispositions; and it was owing to his variance with his great nobility that they were ineffectual. The English, in general, approved of the expedition, which was to take place about the middle of August, 1310; and the lord of Lorn, whom the English historians call the lord of Argyle, joined Simon Montacute, the English admiral, with a small squadron of ships, to assist in transporting the Irish to Scotland.

At the time appointed, Edward, attended by the earls of Gloucester, Surry, and Cornwall, with the lords Piercy, Clifford, and other nobility, set out for Scotland. A truce had been concluded in the beginning of the year, by which Robert's sister (a prisoner in England) the wife of the lord Neil Campbell, had been exchanged for Walter Cumming, one of the heads of the English faction. Truces between the two nations were, at this time, mere matters of conveniency, and were broken as either party found it for its interest. Robert was now so far from acting, as formerly, upon the defensive, that he carried fire and sword into England itself; of which Edward complained bitterly to his father-in-law, the king of France. The latter sought to divert Edward from his expedition, by inviting him to a personal conference, and promising to send ambassadors to remonstrate against the breach of faith Robert had been guilty of. Before those offers could have any effect, Edward, in the beginning of September, had invaded Scotland with a very fine army. Robert had foreseen this invasion, and had laid waste all the country through which his enemies were to pass. According to the English historians, Edward ravaged the country as far as the Frith of Forth; but the Scots say, that he marched towards Renfrew, and that he reduced the castle of Dunstaffage, which was held by Alexander Macdougall, father to lord Lorn, a native

A. D. 1310,
takes place,

A.D. 1310. of Argyleshire. The season, however, was too far advanced for Edward to complete his plan of subduing Scotland; and he was forced to take up his winter-quarters at Berwic. His unsteady, fluctuating conduct had rendered him equally despicable to the Scots as to his own subjects; and Robert, at this time, had actually formed a plan of a rebellion against Edward within his own kingdom. This was discovered by the latter while he lay at Berwic; and he reinforced the garrison of Roxburgh, with the other forts he held in the North. The earl of Gloucester held his winter-quarters in Norham, where he found great difficulty in repressing the invasions of the Scots; but on the ninth of December Edward issued a writ, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of forfeiture, to hold any correspondence with Robert's party. This writ was occasioned by the undoubted intelligence which Edward had received, of his enemies being supplied with provisions and ammunition from England, and that Robert intended to seize the isle of Mann, which then belonged to the bishopric of Durham. Another writ was issued under the privy-seal, directed to the sheriffs, bailiffs, and stewards of the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, commanding them to assist the bishop of Durham's steward in fortifying that island. Other writs, at the same time, were issued, for apprehending the adherents of Robert, wherever

wherever they could be found, in Edward's dominions. A. D. 1310.

Many circumstances concur to prove that Robert, about this time, had a small fleet at sea, and that he held a correspondence with the Irish. He was privately assisted and encouraged by the king of France, who acted with great insincerity upon this occasion; for he openly condemned Robert, and proposed to send ambassadors to mediate between him and his son-in-law, Edward. He even went so far as to threaten Robert with the thunder of the Vatican, if he did not withdraw his army from the field; but Robert was so far from paying any attention to that menace, that he put all Edward's adherents to the sword wherever he could reach them. During the winter of the year 1310, the English fleet kept at sea, not only to disappoint Robert's designs upon Ireland and the Isle of Mann, but to supply the English court and army in the North with provisions.

Robert corresponds with the Irish.

It is allowed by all historians, that Edward's conduct, at this time, would have been unexceptionable, had he been properly seconded by his subjects, whom he continued more and more to disgust, by the honours he heaped upon Gaveston. By his remaining at Berwic during the winter, he was in a condition to take the field early in the year 1311, with an excellent army. Robert had taken such effective

The English distressed for provisions.

1311.

A.D. 1311. tual measures, that Edward began now to be straitened for provisions; and he complained bitterly, that his victualling transports were taken and plundered by the Flemish privateers. His distress for provisions continuing, he was obliged to return to Berwic, and to form his army into three divisions. One was commanded by himself, and made head against Robert, who was even preparing to invade England. Another division was detached towards the great forest of Selkirk, under the earls of Gloucester and Surry; and the third, under the earl of Cornwall, was sent to secure Perth, the key of the highlands; a measure which, had it been successful, must have proved fatal to Robert's affairs. On the first of June, we find Edward still at Berwic, from whence he issued a commission, appointing John lord of Argyle (whom I take to have been the same who is called lord Lorn) to act as admiral of his fleet, by making a descent upon Argyleshire and Inchgall, where Robert and his followers had put all the English party to the sword; and on the fourteenth of July following, he ordered all his military tenants to attend him, with their horses and equipages, to repress the influence of the Scots. The growing differences between Edward and his great nobility were well known to Robert, and defeated the best-laid schemes of Edward, who was now forced to leave Berwic, and to return to the southern parts

parts of his dominions. His active antagonist A. D. 1313. did not leave a moment of time unemployed. He had continued upon the defensive, nor had Edward ever been able either to drive him out of the field, or to force him to a battle.

No sooner had Edward left Berwic, than Robert carried, but in an unusual manner, his invasion of England into execution. He was, at this time, entirely master of Argyleshire and the western islands; and assembling all the shipping he could, he landed a body of troops in England, across the Solway-Frith. This unexpected expedition had not been foreseen by the English, and the Scots met with no opposition; so that for eight days they plundered all Gilleland, and part of Tindale. Having returned to Scotland with their booty, they made a fresh invasion by way of Redesdale, and carried their devastations as far as Corbridge, putting to the sword all who withstood them, and plundering the places which they had spared before. Robert's progress filled all the North of England with terror; and the nobility of Northumberland gave him two thousand pounds for a truce till the second of February following. The people of Cumberland and Westmoreland offered the like terms, which Robert accepted of, but took hostages for part of the money; and then marched, with all his plunder and prisoners, towards Berwic.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Ro-

A.D. 1322.

Robert, by giving no respite either to himself or his troops, knew no distinction of seasons; and the rapidity of his conquests have already carried us into the year 1312. His irruptions into England became now so frequent, that they are confounded by writers. Of these I chuse to follow the English, who tell us, that during the disputes between Edward and his great barons, Robert reduced the castles of Bute, Dumfries, Dalswinton, and many others, which he levelled to the ground. In the middle of August, he invaded England again, and burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbridge. He then sent a detachment of his army into Durham, which he entered and plundered; but the castle held out, as did the church and abbey. Robert's plan did not admit of his spending his time upon sieges; and he accepted of two thousand pounds from the inhabitants of the bishopric, for granting them a truce to the Midsummer ensuing, which he did, on condition of his having always a free passage through their country, when he had a mind to invade England. Other places paid composition-money likewise; and Robert carried off an immense plunder into his own kingdom. In passing by Berwic, he formed a scheme for surprizing it, by means of ladders of ropes, which were fastened to the walls by hooks; but when he had almost succeeded in the attempt, the assailants were discovered by the barking

England
ravaged by
the Scots,

who mis-
carry before
Berwic.

barking of a dog, and obliged to retire with some loss. A. D. 1312.

Either the perpetual wars which of late had laid Scotland waste, or the natural inclemency of the seasons, had occasioned a famine, which in some measure had obliged Robert to live in his enemy's country. The inhabitants of Scotland, we are told, were forced to subsist upon horses and dogs; but they seem, in this autumn, to have obtained some respite from their miseries. It is probable that the great booty which Robert had acquired in money, effects, prisoners, and hostages, had enabled him to purchase, in foreign parts, corn for his people; for upon his unsuccessful attempt at Berwick, he marched directly to Perth, which he surprised by a scalade. All the Scots of the English party, who were in the town or garrison, were put to the sword. Buchanan is mistaken in saying that he gave no quarter either to the English or Scots; for we learn from undoubted records, that the English not only had their lives spared, but were permitted to return to their own country. The town was levelled to the ground, and all its ditches were filled *.

Fordun,

A famine

Perth recovered,

Rymer,
vol. III. p.
410.

* 'Notwithstanding all the care I have taken, I am not certain as to the order of time in which some of the facts I have related happened. Fordun agrees best with the English chronology; and I have preferred his relation to that of more modern Scotch writers.

A. D. 1313. The king of France, at this time, had two noblemen with public characters attending upon Robert; but they could not prevail upon him to agree to a truce with Edward, who was preparing to set out for France: and we are now arrived at the year 1313, which was a glorious period for Robert.

The first proof Randolph gave of the sincerity of his conversion, was to undertake the siege of Edinburgh castle; but before that time, he had been created by his uncle earl of Murray, with a large revenue; and Douglas, with great courage and conduct, had surpris'd the castle of Roxburgh. The siege of the castle of Edinburgh proved to be an undertaking of great difficulty; but Randolph at last succeeded by the counsel of one William Francis, who shew'd him a place in the rock by which the walls might be scaled, by the assistance of a ladder about twelve feet high. Randolph and Sir Andrew Gray were the first who mounted the wall, and being bravely followed, they became, after an obstinate dispute, masters of the castle *.

and Edin-
burgh.

* There is in the Scotch history a foolish tradition, that Malcolm the third's queen, St. Margaret, figured out this surprize in a piece of needle-work, in which she represented the castle with a man mounting its walls by a ladder, with the label, "Garde vous de Francoys;" which signifies either, Take care of Francis, or take care of the French. There is, however, no great reason to suppose, that in this label she was actuated by the spirit of prophecy, as the Normans, who were Frenchmen, were the capital enemies of herself and her husband; and very possibly she

According to some historians, Randolph ordered a false attack to be made on the east side of the castle towards the town, which drawing thither the attention of the English, gave him an opportunity of scaling the walls at the place which had been discovered to him by Francis.

A.D. 1313.

The reduction of Edinburgh-castle, which was deemed to be impregnable, gave reputation to Robert's arms; and he now carried into execution, by Randolph's means, his long intended expedition against the Isle of Mann, which proved successful, and was of great use for keeping open his communication with Ireland. Robert gave the government of the island, after it was reduced, to Randolph; and before the end of the year 1313, the English held, in Scotland, only the castles of Berwick, Dunbar, and Stirling. Sir Edward Bruce undertook the siege of the latter, which was defended by Sir Philip Mowbray, a brave English officer. The castle had a good garrison, and within it three months provisions; but the siege being vigorously pressed, and Mowbray despairing of relief from the English, it was agreed that if the place received no relief before Midsummer following, the castle should be surrendered to the Scots. Thus far I have followed the Scotch historians, who,

Bruce reduces the Isle of Mann.

Stirling besieged.

he bestowed such a piece of needle-work to be hung up in the castle, to put the garrison upon its guard against the attempts of these French enemies.

A. D. 1313. as usual, have no regard to chronology, however well warranted they may be as to facts, which I have endeavoured to arrange in order of time. Robert at first did not assent to his brother's agreement; but either was, or appeared to be, soon reconciled to it. Mowbray went to England, where Edward was making amazing preparations for invading Scotland; and he thought himself so sure of success, that he highly approved of Mowbray's capitulation. His intention was to put himself at the head of an army more irresistible than any that had ever entered Scotland; and having gained some breathing from his disputes with his great lords, he found the English nation, in general, well disposed to second him. As he meant nothing less than an entire conquest of Scotland, he invited foreigners to join him in his expedition, which they did in great numbers, on being promised to be indemnified out of the lands of Scotland, in proportion to the quotas they brought into the field.

Edward prepares to invade Scotland.

All the glorious successes of Robert had not extinguished the English and the Baliol party in his dominions. Though they made no figure in the field, yet they kept themselves in readiness to declare against Robert; and this year they sent to Edward two deputies, the earl of Dunbar and Sir Adam Gordon, to know peremptorily what they were to trust to. They arrived at the English court at the time when

Edward

Edward was in high spirits, on his prospect of success; and they received from him the most encouraging promises. He fixed the rendezvous of his army at Berwick; and he put into the hands of the two deputies a writ, exhorting his good subjects of Scotland to constancy, promising them a speedy redress of all their grievances. After making a short pilgrimage to Boulogne, probably to concert measures with his French subjects, he returned to England about the 18th of December 1313, and ordered summonses to be issued, directed to all his military tenants, sheriffs, and other officers in England, to meet him at Berwick upon Tweed, with their forces, before the 11th of June following, in order to crush the Scotch rebels under their leader Robert. Edward's military tenants in Ireland received the like summonses; the earl of Ulster being appointed their general, and the earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland under Edward.

While he waited for the effect of those summonses, he applied to his holiness, and the king of France, to obtain a truce; but Robert was so far from agreeing to one, that he once more filled all the north of England with his ravages. The country people fled towards Carlisle, which they defended so bravely, that Robert was unable to take it; and being no stranger to the preparations making against him, he wisely return-

A.D. 1313. ed to Scotland, where he knew he could fight upon his own terms.

The news of this invasion accelerated the motions of Edward; and though many of his barons continued still to be dissatisfied with his conduct, the army he assembled on this occasion was perhaps the most numerous that England ever had seen. He gave the command of his fleet, on which, as usual, he depended for provisions for his army, to John Sturmy and Peter Bard; and, before he set out for the North, he ordered public prayers to be offered through all the churches of his dominions for success.

Robert encamps at Bannockburn.

Robert had, before this time, formed his plan of operations, and had chosen a particular encampment, on the banks of a rivulet called Bannockburn, near Stirling. The capitulation for that fortress was now almost expired, and Edward resolved to risk every thing, that he might relieve it. The appearance of his army was pompous beyond all expression; but authors are not agreed as to its numbers. The attendants upon camps, in those days, were sometimes more numerous than the fighting men; and some Scotch writers pretend that Edward's army amounted to three hundred thousand, a number which is undoubtedly exaggerated; but there is the greatest reason for believing that his effective men were not under one hundred thousand. Their assurance
of

of victory was incredible; and therefore they neglected all precautions that could secure it. Robert, on the other hand, was at the head of thirty thousand, trained to all the labours of the field, and inspired with the highest ideas of the honour they should acquire, at a crisis which was to decide upon the perpetual liberty or slavery of their country. Edward was well apprized of the dispositions made by Robert; and he ordered twenty thousand of the Welch and northern militia to be draughted for the first attack, which was to be sustained by his whole army. If we are to believe Barbour, his cavalry amounted to forty thousand men, who were armed head and hand; and of those three thousand were completely armed, their horses as well as themselves; the chief officers under himself being the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, Pembroke, and Sir Giles Argenton. The generals of the Scots under Robert were his brother Sir Edward, the young Walter lord-steward of Scotland, lord Douglas, and the earl of Murray.

A.D. 1313.

Edward's
great army.

Both kings were equally confident of victory; Edward from the numbers and the armour of his troops, and Robert from the known valour, intrepidity, and discipline of his; but, above all, from the sentiments with which he knew them to be inspired. He was sensible that Edward's chief object was the relief of Stirling-castle, and he took up his ground with a mo-

The battle
of Bannock-
burn:

rafs

A.D. 1313. rafs in his front, by which the Englifh muft pafs. Between his army and this morafs was the rivulet of Bannockburn, the banks of which he fortified with ftakes, in the nature of chevaux de frize, to prevent the approach of the Englifh cavalry. His encampment lay about two miles fouth of Stirling. His western flank was fecured by a range of high rocks, and his eaftern by another morafs, through which the rivulet runs before it difcharges itfelf into the Forth *. Barbour and Fordun mention certain pits which he ordered to be dug, filled with pointed ftakes, or calthorps, and covered on the top to prevent their being difcovered by the Englifh cavalry. Robert, before the battle, ordered his men to be confeffed, and to be prepared by all the acts of religion; a conduct very different from that of Edward's troops, who were diffolved in luxury and intemperance. Robert then, in the manner of the times, invented a ridiculous miracle †, to give fpirits to

* The alterations which agriculture, the changes of water-courfes, the cutting down trees, drains, and other accidents, have made, render the local fituations of many parts in Scotland hardly difcernible by any description written above three hundred years ago. Barbour, who lived at the time, mentions a park and trees, through which the Englifh cavalry was to attack the Scots.

† This prince had a particular refpect for St. Fillan; and for that reafon, ordered his chaplain to bring along with him, to the army, St. Fillan's arm, which he had in great veneration, and enshrined in a fmall filver cheft: but the chaplain being afraid that they might lofe the relic, if the Englifh happened to defeat them, brought only the empty cheft; but behold, whilft the king was defiring the affiftance of St. Fillan's prayers, the empty cheft, being

his troops. He next drew up his men, who were all on foot, in three lines, besides a body of reserve. The right was commanded by his brother Edward; the center by himself; the left by the earl of Murray; and the reserve by the lord Douglas and the high-steward of Scotland. Edward, in like manner, divided his troops into three bodies, the center being formed of infantry, and the wings of cavalry; but either some unforeseen difficulties, or the total disregard of discipline which prevailed in his army, obliged him to alter this position; and it was resolved that the attack in front should be made by the cavalry, when the flower of the infantry should make a circle, and charge in flank and rear.

While the two armies lay facing each other, in this order, Edward sent a strong detachment, under the lord Clifford, towards the castle of Stirling. Clifford's motions were so quick and well-conducted, that he had almost passed the wing of the Scotch army, which was commanded by the earl of Murray; when Robert perceiving him, pointing to the English,

Barbour.

ing placed upon the altar, opened and shut of its own accord. Upon which the chaplain, going to see what the matter was, found the arm of St. Fillan there, to his great admiration. Upon this he told the king the whole story; and, whatever truth was in it, it is certain that it served the king to very good purpose; for he having told it to his army the next day, the people then being abundantly credulous, it did not a little add to their courage. See Mackenzie's *Lives of the Scots Writers*, vol. I. p. 272.

told

A.D. 1313.

told the earl, who happened to be then with him, that "a rose had dropped out of his chaplet." The earl considered this as a reproach, because he had the charge of the pass by which the English were marching; and, attended by no more than an hundred men, he got between Clifford and Stirling. A bloody encounter followed; and Douglas, seeing the odds of numbers to be against his friend, though the latter was now reinforced with five hundred men, was preparing to rush to his assistance. He was opposed by Robert, who counselled him to leave to his nephew the danger, as well as the glory, of the action. Douglas, however, still insisting on his proposal, Robert consented to his marching; but before he could arrive at the place of action, the English party was defeated, tho' the earl's men were so fatigued, that they were forced to leave the pursuit to Douglas. By the manner in which Barbour relates this engagement, I apprehend that it happened the day before the great battle.

Barbour.

Early next morning, Robert put his army in array. He was mounted on horseback, carrying a battle-ax in his hand, and on his helmet which was higher than common, he wore a carbuncle, by way of distinction. His majestic port and person; but, above all, his ardour and activity, rendered him sufficiently known; and pointed him out, when he was at the head of his division,

tion, to Sir Richard (or, as Barbour calls him, Sir Henry) Bohun, who was reckoned the bravest knight in the English army, and attacked Robert hand to hand. Combats of that kind, however extraordinary they appear now, were then common; and though Bohun had detached himself a bow-shot from the main body of the English, Robert rode up to him, engaged him singly, and killed him with one stroke of his battle-ax. As this adventure happened immediately before the two armies joined, it wonderfully raised the spirits of the Scots, who were attacked in a furious but disorderly manner by the English cavalry, who were too far engaged to think of retreating, before the greatest part of them were cut off, and the rest so entangled in the midst of works, which had been either raised or sunk by Robert, that they remained inactive marks of the Scotch arrows and darts. By this time, the great detachment of infantry that had been made from the English army, flanked the lines of the Scots commanded by the earl of Murray. Robert, who knew his troops to be in the greatest danger from that quarter, ordered his brother and Douglas to the earl's assistance, while he himself finished the destruction of the first line of English cavalry, and engaged the second, which had now passed the rivulet, and were advancing in good order under Edward in person. The excellent dispositions that had

A.D. 1313. been made by Robert, and the firmness of his troops, damped the fury of the English, and gave time for Sir Edward Bruce and Douglas to make a wheel, by which they attacked the rear of the English infantry with such fury, that they were put to a total rout. The news of this being carried to Edward, who was still engaged with Robert, discouraged his followers so much, that they thought no more of victory but safety; and Robert being joined by part of his victorious troops, obtained one of the most complete victories mentioned in history.

Which is
gained by
the Scots.

The slaughter fell chiefly on the bravest part of the English army, and Edward was among the last who left the field. Some historians say, with no small appearance of truth, that the scullions and other servants who attended in great numbers on the Scotch camp, and who were not engaged (very possibly because Robert could not furnish them with arms) seeing the rout of the English infantry, mounted the baggage and other horses, and rushing down the hill with a shout, improved the consternation of the English, who thinking they had a fresh army to encounter, immediately betook themselves to flight. The brave earl of Gloucester saw the rout of his countrymen, which he could not prevent, and remained at the head of his military tenants in the field, where he lost his life, and they were cut in peices. The numbers of the killed on both sides are uncertain. Accord-
ing

ing to the best accounts, the Scots that day lost four thousand men, among whom were two noble knights, William Vipont, and Walter Ross; but their historians have exaggerated, when they make the loss of their enemies amount to fifty thousand men. Perhaps it did not exceed twenty-five thousand. The number and quality of their prisoners are better ascertained. The earls of Hereford and Monthermer were taken in their flight. The other illustrious prisoners were the earl of Angus, the lords Piercy, Nevil, Scroop, Lucy, Acton, Gifford, Latimer, Segrave, Berkley, and Beauchamp, with other barons, amounting, in the whole, to twenty-two noblemen. Among the slain, besides the earl of Gloucester, were Robert lord Clifford, the lord Pagan Tiptoft, the lord William Marshal, the lord Giles de Argenton, and the lord Edmund de Maul. According to Scotch authors, the number of noblemen, knights, and baronets, that were slain or taken prisoners, amounted to seven hundred. Walsingham says, that the barons and knights were no more than an hundred and fifty; but those accounts are reconcileable by supposing, that Walsingham means those alone who were possessed of great baronies and knights fees. As to Edward himself, it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle, being pursued by Douglas with a body of light-horse. He was attended in his flight by

Edward scarcely
lowly
escaped.

A.D. 1313. the earl of Pembroke; and, by the goodness of their horses, they reached the castle of Dunbar, into which they were received by the earl of March, who had been always in the interest of the English. Douglas, however, hovered about the castle for some days, in hopes that Edward would attempt to go by land to Berwic; but in this he was disappointed, for he escaped to that fortress by sea, in a mean fisher-boat. During Edward's flight he made a vow to build a house in Oxford for twenty-four Carmelite divines, which he afterwards faithfully performed.

Humanity
of Robert.

1314.

Robert made a noble use of this victory, which he gained at Bannockburn on the twenty-fifth of June, 1314. As if his glorious success had disarmed him of all his usual rigour towards the English, he sincerely bewailed the death of his friend the earl of Gloucester, whose body, with that of the lord Clifford, he sent to Edward in a most respectful manner. He shewed the like affliction for the death of his particular friend the lord Giles de Argenton; and he gave the lord Monthermer, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, his liberty without any ransom. The slain were decently interred, the prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity; and Robert assured them, that nothing prevented his giving them their liberty, but the desire he had to exchange them for his own wife, daughter, sister, and his other friends,
who

who were detained captives in England. A. D. 1344.
 A cartel was accordingly settled ; and the earl of Hereford, with the other English prisoners of distinction, were exchanged for the princesses I have mentioned, Donald earl of Mar, Thomas Murray, and Robert, the ancient bishop of Glasgow, who had grown blind in his captivity. Robert's wife, Elizabeth, was daughter or sister to the earl of Leicester ; and Edward the first, who was very minute in regulating every thing about his prisoners, settled her household while she was a captive. She was allowed (says the record published by Mr. Rymer) to attend her as servants, two grave women, not gay, but middle-aged ; two valets, who were to be of the same character ; and a sober, quiet foot-boy, to make her bed, and to do other necessary things about her room ; and a butler for carrying her keys, and taking care of her poultry ; with three huntsmen for her diversion, with the best house of the manor to live in, and venison and fish at her will. As to the old bishop, his allowance was no more than six-pence for his daily expence, three-pence to his upper servant, a penny to his boy, and three halfpence to his chaplain who read mass to him.

Entertainment of his queen in England.

The victory of Bannockburn was attended with the best consequences for Robert and his kingdom. Their enemies had marched to it with all the costly parade of Eastern luxury ;
 money,

Consequences of the victory.

A.D. 1314. money, plate, rich armour, sumptuous furniture, and fine equipages, were common in their camp, and now fell into the hands of the Scots, to the vast encrease of their national wealth. It has been said, that Edward was so well assured of victory, as to carry with him carriages laden with chains and fetters. It is certain, that he had in his train a poet, one Baſton, a Carmelite friar, and prior of Scarborough, whom he had engaged to celebrate his triumphs in Latin verse. Robert ordered this itinerant bard to appear before him, and promised him his liberty, if he would celebrate the Scotch victory instead of the English; which he did in a rude monkish poem, still extant *. The common people of Scotland likewise indulged their poetical vein in their own language, at the expence of their enemies †.

Robert's
daughter's
marriage.

We are here to fix the marriage of Walter, lord-high-steward of Scotland, with Robert's only daughter, Margery, by which that crown

- The two first lines are as follow:

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.*

- † The following fragment of a song, which was undoubtedly composed on that occasion, has come to our hands.

*Maydens of England fore may ye mourne,
For zour lemmons zou have lost at Bonnockborne,
with Hevelogh.*

*What ween'd the king of England
To have gotten Scotland,*

with Rummilogh.

only

came to be entailed upon the Stuart race. Robert no doubt, in concluding this marriage, had an eye not only to the personal accomplishments of the young nobleman, but the fixing in the interest of his family so powerful a chieftain. The princess was then his presumptive heir, by his first wife Gartheney, sister to the earl of Mar; and about a year after her marriage, she was delivered of a son, Robert, who was afterwards king of Scotland.

While Robert was enjoying the fruits of his late victory, Edward was holding a parliament, on the 16th of August, at York. Walsingham represents the English to have been so dispirited at this time, that a hundred of them would fly from three Scottish soldiers. As to Robert, he even courted Edward to become his ally, and employed the French resident to propose the terms. There is reason to believe, that Edward had been touched by Robert's generosity, but was over-awed by his great noblemen, who were now renewing their opposition to his government. On pretence, however, of complying with the request of his friend and father, the king of France, he appointed commissioners to treat with those of Scotland; who were Sir Neil Campbel, Sir Roger Kirkpatrick, Sir Robert Keith, and Sir Gilbert Hay. The English commissioners were Pickering, dean of York, Sir John Botetourt, Sir Richard Fitz-Marmaduke, Sir William Juge, and Sir John Benefed. The

A negotiation.

con-

A.D. 1314. conferences were to be opened at Durham; but a preliminary insisted upon by the Scotch commissioners, of their master's title being recognized by those of England, finished the negotiation, Edward not daring to submit to the demand.

The Scots
again invade
England.

Robert had partly foreseen this, and his army was lying upon the borders, under the command of his brother Edward, and the lord Douglas. No sooner was the event of the negotiation known, than the north of England was filled with ravages more extensive than before. The Scotch generals entered Northumberland by the way of Berwick, put the bishopric of Durham under contribution, and penetrated into Yorkshire, where they burnt Appleby, Kirkwold, and other places. Redesdale, Tindale, and Gilleland, suffered the like devastations; and the Scots returned to their own country with an immense booty, having laid all behind them in ashes and ruins. As a proof of the truth of Walsingham's observation, they committed all this devastation without finding an enemy in the field to oppose them, though Edward had issued writs for that purpose. During this ruinous expedition died Philip, king of France, who had been so instrumental in promoting the differences between Scotland and England, by secretly abetting and encouraging Robert. His death seems to have made no alteration in the affairs of the latter; who, about this

this time, had put to sea some of his own vessels, and had prevailed upon the earl of Flanders to lend him some privateers, by which he severely distressed the English trade in the channel. A.D. 1315.

Towards the end of the year 1314, Edward was forced to excuse the archbishop of York, and his northern barons, from attending the parliament, which was to meet at London, because the Scotch depredations still continued. Some popular measures, which Edward pursued, enabled him, early in the year 1315, to assemble an army; but before he could bring it to act against the Scots, the latter had once more entered the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the town of Hertelpool; some of the inhabitants, however, saved their effects, by carrying them on board their ships. Edward, though unable to prevent those depredations, sent his orders to the archbishop of York, and followed so quickly in person, that he was at Berwick on the thirtieth of June. This obliged the Scots to return to their own country, while Edward ordered some of his military tenants, particularly the earl of Lancaster and the lord Henry Piercy, to attend him with their followings, at Newcastle, on the fifteenth of August. Little or no attention seems to have been paid to those summonses, and all that Edward could do was to give the government of Berwick to Sir Maurice Berkley, to send orders for repairing some of his towns on

and return
towards
Scotland.

A.D. 1315, the borders, where he made the earl of Pembroke his lieutenant; while he himself returned to Westminster. Robert took advantage of his absence to besiege Carlisle; but it must be acknowledged, that all the successes of the Scots of those days, in taking towns, was owing to surprise or stratagem. Robert, however, battered the walls with great fury for ten days; and being unable to take the place, raised the siege; but, in his retreat, the garrison, which was numerous and well appointed, made a sally, in which the lord Murray, and another general officer named Bardolph, were made prisoners. Robert marched from Carlisle to Berwick, which, by the help of some shipping which he seized at the mouth of the river, he endeavoured to surprise. This attempt likewise proving ineffectual, he returned to Scotland, where a new and unexpected scene opened; which makes it necessary here to recapitulate some part of the history of Ireland.

They are
beaten.

Edward
Bruce
invades
Ireland.

All that kingdom, excepting the cities of Dublin and Limerick, had been vested by Henry the third in his son prince Edward, afterwards Edward the first. So large an appanage of a kingdom, which was considered as a fief of the crown of England, was disagreeable to many of the Irish nobility of English extraction, who had obtained large grants in that country, especially after prince Edward, by virtue of his investiture,

vestiture, claimed a right of placing and displacing all officers civil and military within his grant. The old inhabitants of Ireland, who, as I have upon several occasions observed, considered themselves as the same people with the western Scots, lost no opportunity of distressing the English, as the divisions among the latter gave them occasion; but the English governors, or lords-justices, as they were then called, so artfully fomented the animosities among the great Irish families, that the latter never could be brought to unite in an attempt to shake off the English yoke, though they were sometimes joined by the descendants of the original conquerors of Ireland. Upon the death of Henry the third, however, they took the field against their tyrants, and were assisted by the western or (as they are called, by way of distinction) the Red Shank Scots *, and the inhabitants of their neighbouring islands. This invasion proved very dangerous to the English government; and though the invaders were with great difficulty repelled, yet the antient O'Neals, and the O'Bryans, gained ground upon the English governors, and still maintained their brehon law and tanistry, which may be considered as

A. D. 1315.

Its history at this time.

* Though this term is common in old histories, yet the etymology of it does not clearly appear. Perhaps it arose from the colour of their stockings, or trowsers.

A. D. 1315. the municipal constitutions of Ireland. Some of the more moderate Irish however applied to Edward the first, about the year 1279, for the benefit and protection of the English laws; but their petition being referred to the Irish parliament, it was rejected; because most of the original Irish still lived under their municipal laws. This rejection was impolitic, but it was qualified by Edward, who offered special protections to all the Irish who should conform themselves to the English government. That qualification had but little effect; and most part of Edward's reign, over that country, was bloody and turbulent. At last, the necessity he was under of calling over the Irish to serve against the Scots, about the year 1295, obliged him to shew many indulgences to the former; so that Wogan, his lord-justice of Ireland, attended him in his Scotch wars with a very considerable body of Irish, but most of them descended from the English. The old native Irish took every opportunity, in the absence of the lords-justices and their army, to harass the English interest; so that upon the death of Edward the first, while the earl of Ulster, the lord-justice, was serving with an English army in Scotland, the antient inhabitants carried fire and sword through all the English possessions in Ireland.

Upon the accession of Edward the second, Sir John Wogan, who was again lord-justice,

by

by his prudence and courage, re-established some degree of tranquillity in Ireland, and was succeeded in the year 1308 by the famous Pierce de Gaveston, who, by his courage and liberality, either subdued or reclaimed many of the most dangerous Irish chiefs. Though his administration was but very short, yet he left Ireland in a state of tranquillity; and, in a parliament held in 1309, many favours were extended to the Irish in the English interest. This indulgence served only to exasperate the old Irish, who were devoted to their municipal laws; and it must be acknowledged, that the shutting them out from the protection of the English government was impolitic, because those laws were not inconsistent with their obedience to the civil power.

I have already observed, that a perpetual intercourse was kept up between Robert and the Irish, by whom we are to understand the descendants of the antient natives, who considered themselves as being proscribed by the English. The histories and records that have come to our hands give us but very imperfect accounts of this correspondence; but it is certain, from the events which followed, that the Irish, who were in the opposition to the English government, had for some time cast their eyes upon Robert and his family, for their deliverance; nor could they have a more favourable opportunity for carrying their design into execution than at
the

A. D. 1315. the time the battle of Bannockburn was fought. Robert and his brother Edward were too sensible of the vast advantage resulting from this scheme, and soon accepted of the proposal made by the Irish, that Edward should be received as their king. This nobleman, to an unbounded bravery, added a turbulence of temper, which disposed him always to live in action; and it is very possible that Robert, who was now intent on restoring his kingdom to tranquility, did not dislike that Edward's martial abilities should be employed in a foreign country.

Great success of
Bruce there.

The correspondence between the Irish and the Bruces was not so secretly managed, as not to be known to the court of England; and the lord-justice, Theobald de Verdon, with many of the Irish nobility, had orders to attend the English parliament, to consult upon measures against an invasion. In May 1315, Edward Bruce, earl of Carric, embarked at Aire, with about six (or, according to Barbour, seven) thousand men. The chief commanders under him were the earl of Murray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Soules, Sir John Stuart, Ramsay of Oughterhouse, and Sir Fergus Ardrossan. He landed near Carrickfergus, and sent back his shipping to Scotland. He was opposed by the lords Mandeville, Bisset, and Logan, with an undisciplined multitude, whom Bruce and his veterans soon defeated, with very considerable slaughter. This victory induced numbers of
the

the Irish to declare for Edward; and, after A.D. 1315. destroying Dundalk, drove the English out of Ulster. Barbour informs us that, at this time, ten or twelve of the old Irish chieftains, whom he calls kings, joined Edward; but that two of them, Macgoulchone and Maccartny, deserted him, and laid an ambush for him at a strait pass, which he calls Endnellane; but that the Scots were delivered by the valour of the earl of Murray. The lord-justice was, at this time, at Dublin raising another army, the command of which he gave to the earl of Ulster, who was defeated by Bruce, with a great slaughter, near Coleraine, on the tenth of September. Upon this victory, Edward besieged and took the town of Carricfergus; and most of the native Irish, all over the kingdom, declared in his favour.

Though the English historians have been very incorrect and superficial in their relations of this remarkable expedition, yet I am by no means disposed to follow Barbour through all its particulars. That it was glorious for Bruce and his followers cannot be disputed. Athlone and Randane were burnt to the ground, as were three castles belonging to the earl of Ulster. In November, the lord Roger Mortimer, at the head of a fresh army, gave battle to Edward, but was defeated near Henlis, or Kenlis, in Meath; upon which, Edward burnt Kenlis, Granard, and other places. He next
pro-

A.D. 1315. proceeded to Loch-Findy, where he afterwards kept his Christmas, and reduced all the county of Kildare. That his progress must have been very formidable, appears from the orders issued by the court of England, for John de Hotham to sell the crown duties and wardships in Ireland, to raise money for repressing the Scots. **Rymer.** By this time, three powerful armies were raised against them in different parts of Ireland; one by Edmund Butler, the lord-justice; one by John Fitzgerald, who was afterwards earl of Kildare; and the third by the lord Arnold Power. Those three armies were to be united under the command of the lord-justice; but the chiefs quarrelling among themselves, they were defeated by Edward. Thus ended the remarkable campaign of 1315 in Ireland; but in order to understand its sequel, we must now attend the affairs of Scotland.

**Affairs of
Scotland.**

On the twenty-eighth of January, the parliament of England assembled at Lincoln, where the earl of Lancaster, and the other English noblemen who served on the borders, attended. The chief object of this parliament, after Edward had anew confirmed the privileges of his subjects, was to provide a strong army against the Scots; and every town in England was charged to furnish a good footman for that purpose, with proper arms and accoutrements, to serve the king for sixty days; cities, boroughs, and the king's demense lands, being

ex-

A.D. 1315.

excepted. This was a very unprecedented method of raising men; and large sums were voted for keeping on foot an army, which was to rendezvous at Newcastle upon Tyne, fifteen days after Midsummer, to march against the Scots. In the mean time, a most dreadful famine raged in England, which rendered it expedient to set on foot a negotiation for a truce. A commission was accordingly given to Umfraville earl of Angus, Maurice Berkley, and Richard Horfeley, to treat of a truce; but Robert knew the debility of the English, at this time, too well to consent to any cessation of arms, though the earl of Lancaster, to give the greater weight to the negotiation, made some motions as if he intended a direct invasion of Scotland, and not to delay it to the beginning of August. Robert entered Yorkshire at the head of an army, and destroyed it as far as Richmond, where the chief inhabitants, who retired to the castle, purchased their safety by a sum of money. Robert then pointing his march eastward, laid the country waste for sixty miles; and, without meeting with an enemy, returned to Scotland with a vast booty, having so effectually destroyed all the places through which he marched, that we are told a quarter of wheat sold in the North of England for forty shillings*.

England
again ravaged.

* This does not fall much short of twenty pounds, according to the present valuation of money.

A. D. 1315.

Though those ravages have a barbarous sound, yet the state of Robert's affairs, through the obstinacy of the English, rendered them more than excusable on the part of the Scots. Bruce was held by his enemies in the light of a rebel. He knew they neither would give him nor his adherents any quarter; and therefore all his and their safety lay in the severity with which he carried on war. His subjects, at the same time, were fully convinced of their own rights as a nation, and very properly treated the arguments which had been urged by the English against their independency, as so many insults upon their understanding. As to Robert's army finding subsistence amidst a raging famine, we can account for it only by the almost incredible patience of the Scots, at that time, under hunger and cold. Their living was so simple, and nature so easily satisfied in them, that some of their writers, to account for it, have invented a particular root, which had a wonderful alimentary property; so that a few ounces of it preserved them from hunger and thirst for several days *. We may likewise

* The Scotch writers are not singular in their invention of this root, for the Chinese have attributed properties pretty similar to their ginseng. When we reflect upon the prodigious fatigues which the Romans under their generals, and the Tartars under Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, underwent, there is no occasion to have recourse to miracles to account for the perseverance of the Scots, under hunger and cold, in their wars with the English. Are not the French physicians and philosophers, at this very time, labouring to find out an alimentary powder with all the properties of the Scotch ginseng?

suppose, that Robert received some supplies from his shipping on the western coasts. A.D. 1315.

The character of this great prince, however, can be but imperfectly understood from the Scotch historians. He had formed connections not only with France, but the Genoese, who were, at that time, the greatest maritime power in Europe; and they furnished him with ships and armour, which rendered his troops, in those respects, a match for the English themselves. Robert's foreign connections.

Some papers found upon one of Robert's agents, who was seized at Newcastle, discovered this correspondence, on which Edward made most bitter complaints, both to France and the state of Genoa; but, so far as I perceive, without any effect. Robert now thought himself secure in the possession of Scotland, chiefly through the inability of the English to attack him, and therefore resolved to pass over to Ireland; but, according to Barbour, he previously made an expedition to the Isles, where he reduced the remains of his enemies, and sent the lord Lorn prisoner, first to Dumbarton, and from thence to the castle of Lochleven, where he died in his confinement. This expedition probably happened upon his voyage to Ireland, to which island we are now to turn our eyes. Rymer, vol. III. p. 305.

Edward Bruce continued still victorious over the English party in that country; but, after burning down the castle and church of Ley, and taking Farther successes of Bruce in Ireland,

A.D. 1315. taking the castle of Northborough, he found the country so desolated, that he was obliged to return to Ulster for want of provisions. The lord-justice, in the mean time, called a parliament at Dublin, where he reconciled all the jarring interests among the English, and took measures for suppressing the native Irish, who made incursions to the gates of Dublin; while Thomas Mandeville, a nobleman of great reputation in arms, was sent with a flying army to observe the motions of the Scots. It was at this time that Edward Bruce, who had now taken the title of king, and had formed his attendants into a little court about his person, dispatched the earl of Murray to Scotland, where he laid before Robert the state of his brother's affairs in Ireland, and earnestly pressed him to come to his assistance. For those particulars we are obliged to Barbour. Robert probably only waited for this invitation to pass over to his brother's aid; and he arrived with a considerable force near Loch-Ryan in Galloway, having left his son-in-law, the high-steward, and the lord Douglas, guardians of Scotland during his absence. He landed at Carrickfergus, where he was met by his brother; and they spent some days together in as much jollity as their situation could permit. After some consultation, it was agreed to march against the English, and their army was formed into three divisions. The first was commanded by

by Edward Bruce, the second by the earl of Murray, and the rear by Robert in person. Before they began their march, Edward, by the advice and consent of his brother, was solemnly crowned king at Dundalk. The performance of this ceremony gave him, as he imagined, a right to treat all the Irish in the English interest as rebels; and if we are to believe the English writers, he spared neither age nor sex, civil or religious edifices, in his progress. Some authors say, that Carrickfergus was not taken till after the arrival of the elder Bruce; but that can only be meant of the castle, which, after the reduction of the town, made a vigorous defence, by means of a squadron of ships, sent by the lord-justice from Dublin to protect and supply it. At last, losing all hopes of farther relief, the castle surrendered. This encouraged the two brothers to form a plan of marching directly to Dublin, the chief residence of the lord-justice, who had, by this time, assembled about forty thousand men to oppose them. He had taken up an advantageous camp, and had placed an ambush so opportunely, that he found means to cut off the communication between the van of the Scotch army, with which the younger Bruce had inconsiderately advanced too far, against the express advice of his brother, who was left with the earl of Murray's division to bear the brunt of the greatest part of the English

where he
is crowned
king.

Barbour.

A.D. 1315. lish army. Robert perceiving his brother's error, ordered his men to keep close in their ranks, and to march on in battle-array. Sir Colin Campbel disobeyed this command; and, leaving his post, attacked two Englishmen, one of whom he killed, but the other shot Campbel's horse dead; upon which the latter was struck to the ground by Robert's truncheon, and it was with difficulty that the great lords about his person saved him from farther punishment. This incident is not inconsiderable, as it is a proof of Robert's great authority, and his attention to discipline *. He soon perceived his enemies drawn up; but we may well suppose, that the greatest part of their army was raw and undisciplined troops, who could not stand against Robert's veterans; who, after a smart engagement, put them to flight; and the lord-justice himself fled to Dublin †. The slaughter made on this occasion is represented as being very considerable, and the battle as one of the best fought of any during the war.

* The reader, perhaps, may not be displeased to see, in Barbour's words, Robert's apology to his lords for knocking down this noble personage.

But he said, breking of bidding,
Might be the cause of discomfiting.

† Barbour has mentioned Robert as being at the head only of four thousand troops; but it appears, from undoubted authorities, that the Scots had, before this time, been joined by great numbers of the Irish, though the latter being undisciplined, and perhaps unarmed, were not considered by the Scots as part of their army.

Upon

Upon the meeting of the two brothers, Robert reproached Edward for his rashness and inattention; and the other owning the charge, it was resolved to proceed to Dublin. The truth is, the divisions among the English governors of Ireland still continued, and the Bruces had reason to think that Dublin would fall into their hands: but a still stronger motive impelled them to this march; for we learn from Fordun, though the other Scotch writers conceal, or disguise, the fact, that the country through which Bruce's army passed was so desolated, that many of the Scots died of hunger, and the survivors were obliged to subsist upon horse-flesh. The two brothers met no resistance in their march towards Dublin, but at the castle of Knock, which was taken. When the Scotch army arrived before Dublin, they found the suburbs of that city destroyed; and that the mayor, after having ventured to imprison the earl of Ulster, had taken upon himself the defence of the city. His dispositions were so good, that the Scots were obliged to retire from before the place towards Naas; and they filled all the country through which they passed with fire and devastation. When the two brothers came to Cashel, they received certain intelligence, that an army of thirty thousand men were assembled at Kilkenny under the lord-justice, and the earl of Kildare, to fight them. The divisions among the English generals probably saved the Scots

ON

A. D. 1315. on this occasion ; for the lord Roger Mortimer, having obtained a patent, creating him lord-justice, sent an exprefs order superseding the command of the other generals, and enjoining them not to fight, as he intended to lead the army in person. This delay gave the Scots an opportunity of marching back to Ulster, by the woods of Trim, which they did without being pursued, the new lord-justice having taken up his residence at Dublin.

His army
returns
victorious.

Scotland in-
vaded

1317.

The absence of Robert in Ireland encouraged Edward, whose government grew every day more despicable, to make a fresh attempt upon Scotland. In this he was favoured by the pope, who sent two bulls, one directed to Edward, and the other to the regency of Scotland, commanding both parties, in a very peremptory manner, to make peace. The bull addressed to the Scots regency being sent over to Robert, he was so far from regarding it, that he sent orders for continuing hostilities ; and we find Edward at York on the twentieth of August 1317. He had issued out writs commanding his military attendants to attend him by the beginning of October, to proceed against the Scots ; and he ordered public prayers to be put up for success throughout all his dominions. It is probable that his summonses were disregarded ; for we are told by Barbour that the lord Douglas, about this time, defeated an English earl in Selkirk forest ; nor do the English historians ac-
quaint

A.D. 1317.

quaint us with the event of Edward's preparations. We know, however, that his fleet landed a body of men in the frith of Forth, where they were defeated by Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, with the earl of Fife, and others. This warlike bishop is particularly described, as having been a man of great strength and courage. He took the field at the head of sixty horsemen, all of his own retinue, and found that Duncan, earl of Fife, had retreated from the English; upon which the prelate reproached them for cowardice, and advancing his lance, called out to all who wished well to Scotland to follow him. The earl, ashamed of his own behaviour, put himself under the bishop's command, who immediately attacked the English while they were intent on plunder, cut in pieces five hundred of them, and drove the rest to their boats; some of which were overset, but all who escaped returned directly to England. Robert was so well pleased with the bishop's behaviour and prowess, that ever after he called him, by way of distinction, "my bishop." The English historians are in general silent as to the warlike transactions between the two nations during this year; but the facts I have related are unquestionably well attested. It appears from the records published by Rymer, that Edward was so much in earnest to take advantage of Robert's absence, as to send over for his French revenues to enable him to carry on his war

by the English, who are defeated.

A.D. 1317. in Scotland. Later writers say, that Edward in person was defeated by Douglas, with very considerable loss; and it is certain that about this time Robert returned from Ireland.

Interposi-
tion of the
pope.

A kind of cessation of arms now took place, owing merely to Edward's inability to carry on the war, though he pretended that his moderation was owing to the pope's bull. Two cardinals, St. Maffarin and St. Mary, were then in England, charged with a mediation between the two crowns; and Edward, to render it the more effectual, promised his holiness that as soon as he could get any respite from war, he would undertake a crusade. This flattered the court of Rome so highly, that the pope threw his weight entirely into Edward's scale; and in the fresh bulls which he sent over, he gave Robert no other title than that of the person acting as king in Scotland. This bull was rejected by Robert's ministers, as being inadmissible; and Edward found means to hire, from the Genoese, five armed gallies to act against the Scots. There was not then in Europe a people who would have ventured to treat the papal power with so much contempt as the Scots did. The legates, armed as they were with the thunders of the Vatican, durst not venture to enter Scotland; and finding all advances to a treaty prove ineffectual, they sought permission from Robert to send two agents to treat with him in person, but in private characters. Robert agreed: and they

A. D. 1317.

they entering Scotland by different ways, he received them with great politeness. Understanding that they came to treat of a peace, he expressed a readiness to enter upon so desirable a negotiation; and the agents produced two sets of letters, one sealed from the legates, but addressed to Robert Bruce, governor of Scotland; which Robert threw back unopened to the agents, with the utmost disdain. Another letter from the pope was opened and read, but Robert referred his answer to his ministers *. These treated the agents, one of whom was a bishop, with great roughness; and we learn from their conversation on both sides, that a special messenger sent by the pope to acquaint the Scotch clergy of his accession to the pontifical throne had been for three months upon the borders, without daring to enter the kingdom, on account of the ceremonial towards his master. When the bishop intreated Robert to send a safe-conduct to this messenger, he received no other answer than a scornful smile; and then he began to apologize for his master's conduct, by pretending that his not giving Robert the title of king was owing to his tenderness for the rights of the king of England; but that he should receive full satisfaction as soon as the

* As an account of this interview, drawn up by the agents themselves, had been published and confirmed by the English historians, there can be no mistake in the relation here given.

A. D. 1317. dispute between him and Edward was settled. He added, that the legates had full power for that purpose; and that a peace was necessary to Christendom, as the Holy Land had been lost by the divisions that prevailed in Europe.

who is reproached by Robert, Robert's reply to the bishop's stale frivolous arguments was, that though he considered the church as its mother, and his holiness as its father; yet that his parents did not behold him with eyes of reciprocal natural affection; that the pope really injured him, on pretence of not prejudging Edward, by not giving him that title which was allowed him by all the other princes and people of Europe. He then intimated to the agents, that he treated them with a lenity which the insolence of their behaviour did not deserve.

This conversation was remarkable, by the deference and respect which Robert, through the whole of it, expressed for his parliament; without whose advice he refused to enter upon the discussion of any one point. This, in some measure, might have been owing to his knowledge of his own strength, and his enemies weakness; for he was at this very time making preparations for besieging Berwick, and giving the finishing blow to his enemy's power in Scotland. This was not unknown to the agents, who were charged to use their utmost efforts to bring Robert to agree to a truce for two years, which had been accepted of by Edward, and pro-

proclaimed in England; but Robert, with his usual firmness, rejected the application, because he would do nothing without the advice of his parliament.

A. D. 1317.

who consults
his parliament,

The legates perceiving, by the report of their agents, that the negotiation with Robert was at an end, produced two bulls of excommunication against Robert and his brother; but before they would execute either, they dispatched a friar, one Adam Newton, guardian of the minorites of Berwic, and a hot-headed zealot, to publish the truce in Scotland, where, if it was not received, he was to declare Robert and his kingdom to be excommunicated. The Scotch army was at this time lying upon the borders, from whence they made daily inroads into the north of England, where there was scarcely to be now found a trace of civil government. Robert's head-quarters was at Old Camus, where, though it was towards the end of December, he was continuing his preparations for the siege of Berwick. Upon Newton's arrival at the Scotch camp at Old Camus, he was refused admittance to Robert; but his ministers forced him to exhibit his credentials, which, with the pope's bull, they returned him with great contempt, because they were not addressed to Robert as a sovereign prince. He had the courage, or rather the madness, however (if we are to believe his own account) to proclaim the truce, and the sentence of excommunication, in the
Scotch

and is ex-
communicated.

A.D. 1317. Scotch camp. This is not very likely, without supposing him to have been looked upon as a lunatic. After all, it is very possible that they might have repented their dismissing him in the manner they did; for he tells us, that in his return to Berwic he was stripped of all he had; and he supposed that his credentials and bulls were carried back to Robert. This did not prevent the legates, who never durst venture to set foot in Scotland, from thundering out the excommunication against Robert and his kingdom; but Edward prevailed with his holiness, on the eighteenth of March, 1318, to attempt another negotiation for a truce: but all was in vain.

1318.

He takes
Berwic.

Robert having completed his preparations, sat down before Berwic on the second of April following. Maurice de Berkley was then governor of that town and castle, and had held a severe hand over such of the inhabitants as he suspected to be in the Scotch interest. This, no doubt, provoked one of the inhabitants, who by Barbour is called Spalding, and was married to a relation of one of the Scotch officers about Robert's person, to enter into a private correspondence with that officer for delivering up the town. The latter immediately carried Spalding's letters to Robert, who commended his prudence, "because, said he, if you had carried them either to my nephew or the lord Douglas, you would have made one of them your enemy."

my." Robert then undertook the management of the affair, and the town was actually taken by Spalding's means *; but part of the garrison, by their enemies being too intent upon plunder, retired to the castle, which held out for five days, and then surrendered. The booty of every kind, which Robert made by this conquest, was greater than any he had ever acquired at one time. The place, through its natural situation, the strength of its fortifications, and the number of its garrison, was deemed to be impregnable, and was a kind of a repository for the effects not only of many of the English, but of all their party in Scotland, which was still powerful. Robert thought it of so much importance, that he gave the command of it to his son-in-law, the steward of Scotland, and ordered it to be victualled for twelve months. His engineer, during this campaign, was John Crab, a Fleming †. But we are now to turn our eyes towards a country where the Scots experienced a dismal reverse of fortune.

* This Spalding is said by Hollinshed to have been an Englishman, and to have been rewarded with lands in the county of Angus for his service.

† Barbour, who finished his history in 1375, observes here that the Scots, at this time, were ignorant of the use of artillery; for he says,

But gunnes for crakes they had nane,

For yet in Scotland, then but [weene,] [meaning, without

The use of them had not been seene. doubt].

From this passage there is reason to believe, that the use of artillery was known in Scotland in the reign of Edward the third of England.

The

A. D. 1318.
Edward
Bruce de-
fected and
killed in
Ireland.

The intractable temper of the younger Bruce had now proved fatal to himself in Ireland. After his brother's return to Scotland, the archbishop of Dublin had been sent over lord-justice from England; and the lord John Birmingham, a brave and an active general, was appointed his deputy, and had the command of the army. Robert, who knew his brother's failing, had sent him repeated advices of the vast preparations that were making against him in England, and desired him to act upon the defensive till he could receive reinforcements from Scotland, which he promised to send, or head himself, with the first opportunity; and he had actually begun his march for (though some say he had landed in) Ireland. His brother was so far from taking his advice, that though he knew the English army consisted of thirty thousand men, he attacked them near Dundalk, where he was totally defeated; and being taken in the pursuit, he was executed as a traitor to the king of England. Robert, on receiving this account, reembarked his men, and returned to Scotland. The character of Edward Bruce gives us no reason to suppose, that his death was very afflicting to the Scotch nation; for it is thought, that had he not undertaken his Irish expedition, he would have raised a rebellion against his brother*.

* Fordun expressly says, that he refused to live in peace with his brother, unless the latter would allow him half of his kingdom.

A. D. 1319.
War upon
the borders

The miserable state of Edward's government, after the reduction of Berwic, called upon his English subjects to provide for their own safety. In the beginning of the year 1319, they seem to have forgot all causes of discontent he had given them, and to be resolved to unite in retrieving their national character against the Scots. Robert, in the mean time, took the castles of Wark, Harbottle, and Middiford; and no place of all Northumberland, excepting Newcastle, held out against him. There is, however, reason to believe, that Robert was not present in person at this irruption, which was conducted by the lord Douglas, his warden of the marches, who is said to have been at the head of twenty thousand men. His progress was so rapid, that he penetrated to the very gates of York, where the queen of England narrowly escaped falling into his hands. Those misfortunes did not prevent Edward from making prodigious preparations for retaking Berwic. He raised all his military tenants in Wales; he assembled a very considerable fleet, and about the middle of August he invested it with a great army by sea and land. The place was defended by Crab, under the high-steward of Scotland; but assaulted with great courage, skill, and perseverance, by Edward and his foreign engineers. The siege itself is most minutely related by Barbour; but the particulars would give little entertain-

A. D. 1319. ment to a modern reader. It is sufficient to say, that all the arts of engineering then known were practised on both sides to great perfection; and Edward had taken his measures so well, that Robert could make no impression upon his camp. All he could do was to give a diversion to his arms, by renewing his inroads into England, the command of which he committed to the earl of Murray and the lord Douglas. They were so successful, that they carried their depredations first to Boroughbridge, and then to Milton, within ten miles of York; and were preparing to besiege that city, when they were opposed by an army of ten thousand men, under the archbishop, William de Melton.

The Scots
defeat the
English,

This indiscreet prelate, despising the numbers of the Scots, attacked them near the river Swale, on the twenty-first of September; but half of his army was put to the sword, with scarcely any loss to the Scots. The number of the English priests and ecclesiastics who appeared in their surplices, and were killed in this engagement, or drowned in the Swale, was so great, that the Scots distinguished it by the name of the White Battle.

who mis-
carry before
Berwick.

Edward was, all this time, pressing the siege of Berwick with so much fury, that he was in daily hopes of carrying the place. He had constructed a most enormous machine, which overtopped the walls, and gave him great hopes of suc-

success; but it was destroyed by Crab, though the town, at the same time, was assaulted from the English shipping. The earl of Lancaster, who served in this expedition, endeavoured to persuade Edward to raise the siege; but as the English had more than once mounted the walls, Edward persisted in his attacks, and was so much offended with the earl, that he was heard to say he would give the command of the castle, when taken, to the elder Despencer, Lancaster's capital enemy, and of the town to Sir Roger de Tamery. Barbour says, that the earl of Lancaster and the northern barons pressed their king to raise the siege, that he might oppose the devastation of the Scots in their estates; and it is certain that Edward came to that resolution after he heard of the defeat of the archbishop of York by the two Scotch lords. His intention was to intercept the Scots while they were encumbered with plunder, before they could return to their own country. The latter had foreseen his design, but took their measures so well, that they avoided his army by bye-roads, and reached Scotland with their booty. Before the end of the year, they renewed their incursions, penetrated as far as Borough under Stanmore, and carried their devastations through Westmoreland and Cumberland. These were so widely extended, that the Scots, having no farther object for their ravages, began now to think of applying

Walsingham;

A. D. 1319. themselves to the arts of peace and agriculture, The king of England had now compromised affairs with the earl of Lancaster; and being desirous of some respite from war, he granted a safe-conduct for twelve Scotch commissioners to treat of a truce at Newcastle on the sixth of December. A truce for two years was accordingly concluded, and it was no doubt highly acceptable to the inhabitants of both nations.

A truce
concluded.

Examina-
tion of
Bucha-
nan's ac-
count of
Menteith,

Before we close this period of Robert's glorious labours for the deliverance of his country, it may be proper to relate some very improbable circumstances from Buchanan, concerning John Menteith *, the Scotch favourite of Edward the first, and the betrayer of Wallace, but at this time one of the greatest subjects of Scotland. According to that writer he received, as a reward for that treachery, the government of the castle of Dunbar; though it is certain, by what we have already men-

* He was the son of Walter Stuart, the fifth lord high-steward of Scotland, who having married the daughter and heir of that earldom, took the name of Menteith, but retained his paternal coat of arms, only converting the fess cheque into a bend, for difference. He was seventy-six years of age, when he was cruelly put to death, in cold blood, by Edward the first. I do not find that this John ever was earl of Menteith; and perhaps historians have been somewhat too severe upon his memory, on account of his betraying Wallace. It is certain, Bruce himself suspected that great champion to have had an eye upon the crown; and many of the nobility were of the same opinion. If Menteith, therefore, secretly favoured Bruce's claim, as plainly appears by his after-conduct, he might think he was doing his country service by removing Wallace.

tioned

tioned from records, that he assisted at Bruce's first coronation; a circumstance from which there is too much reason to believe, that Bruce was not ignorant of his intended treachery to the brave Wallace. It is probable, though it is not averred by Buchanan, that Edward along with that government, which belonged to the earl of Lenox, had likewise granted him the estate of that nobleman, who was one of the most inflexible patriots in Scotland; and that Bruce might quarrel with him, upon his insisting to be put in possession of the Lenox estate. Buchanan tells us, that the castle of Dumbarton was the last which surrendered to Robert; and the place being thought impregnable, Lenox generously persuaded his master to gratify Menteith in his demands. The king entering to take possession of the castle, one Rolland, a carpenter, met him in the wood of Colquhoun, about a mile from it, and told him, "That in a wine-cellar concealed and under-ground, a sufficient number of Englishmen were hid, who, when the rest of the castle should be given up, and the king secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at dinner, and either to kill or take him prisoner." Robert, according to our author, upon a strict, resolute search, found the information true. The Englishmen were discovered in their armour, and confessed that a vessel was lying near, to have shipped the king away for England. Menteith was, it seems,

A. D. 1329.

Buchanan.

A. D. 1319. seems, too great a man, and had too many handsome daughters married to powerful lords, to be proceeded against capitally; and being pardoned by the king, he desired, as a mark of his sincerity, to lead on the attack against the English at Bannockburn, which he performed with so great gallantry, that he was highly instrumental in gaining the victory, and continued ever after one of the best patriots in Scotland.

which is
disproved.

I have not given a place to this relation in the order of time in which it is placed by Buchanan, because I think it contradictory not only to all evidence, but to common-sense. That excellent writer could not have given it a place in his history, had he not been blindly prepossessed against Menteith for his behaviour towards Wallace; and being himself a native of the country where the scene is laid, he might be under other prejudices, which would take up too much time here to explain.

Good faith
of the Scots
vindicated.

We have already discussed the nature of Robert's political obedience to the pope; but in times of peace, and while the continent of Europe was trembling under pontifical authority, Robert did not chuse wantonly to provoke him. Edward, as a proof of his obedience to the Holy See, had intimated it in form to his holiness, and had appointed Andrew Harclay, the constable of Carlisle, and sheriff of Cumberland, with Antony de Lucylin, wardens of the marches with-

in

in Cumberland and Westmoreland; William A. D. 1219
 Riddel, Gilbert Burwordon, John Penrith, and
 Roger Horsely, within Northumberland. The
 Scots are accused, by some English writers, of
 having, at this time, broken the truce by an ir-
 ruption into England, and attempting to carry
 off Edward while he was at York, besides many
 other charges of the like kind. Though there
 is no ground, from the history of Scotland, for
 supposing those facts to be true; yet we cannot
 answer for all the actions of the lawless bor-
 derers of either nation, after so long a state of
 inflamed hostility. Edward, however, had resi-
 dents at the courts of France and Rome, who,
 had there been any foundation for the charge,
 would surely have complained of it as a breach of
 good faith; nor is it supported by any evi-
 dence from the English records. Edward's leav-
 ing England soon after, to pass over to France,
 is another proof of the allegation being ground-
 less.

During Edward's appearance in France, Ro-
 bert convened his nobility at Aberbrothwick,
 where he laid before them the state of his diffe-
 rences with the Holy See. He found them dis-
 posed as he could wish, that is, unwilling to
 provoke his holiness by a total disavowal of his
 authority; but resolved to maintain their own
 independency, and their king's sovereignty.
 This they did in a letter, the translation of which

the

Rymer, \
 vol. III. p.
 848.

A.D. 1319.
Famous letter from the
Scots nobility to the
pope.

the reader will find in the notes *, and which, for the freedom of its sentiments, is not perhaps

* “ To the most holy father in Christ, and lord John, by the providence of God, chief bishop of the sacred Roman and catholic church; his humble and devout sons, Duncan earl of Fife, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, lord of Mann and Annandale, Patrick Dunbar earl of March, Malis earl of Strathern, Malcolm earl of Lenox, William earl of Ross, Magnus earl of Caithness and Orkney, and William earl of Sutherland; Walter steward of Scotland, William Soules butler of Scotland, James lord Douglas, Roger Mowbray, David lord Brechin, David Graham, Ingelram Umfraville, John Menteith, tutor of the earl of Menteith, Alexander Fraser, Gilbert Hay constable of Scotland, Robert Keith marshal of Scotland, Henry Sinclair, John Graham, David Lindsay, William Oliphant, Patrick Graham, John Fenton, William Abernethy, David Weyms, William Meischet, Fergus of Ardrossen, Eustach Maxwell, William Ramsay, William Mowat, Allan Moray, Donald Campbell, John Cameron, Ronald Chein, Alexander Seton, Andrew Lesly, Alexander Straton, and the remnant barons, freeholders, and whole community of the kingdom of Scotland; sending all dutiful reverence, devoutly kissing his holiness's blessed feet.

“ Most holy father and lord, we know, and have gathered from the acts and books of the ancients, that among other nations our nation of Scots was recorded with many praises, which, from the greater Scythia, passing the Tyrenian sea, and the pillars of Hercules, and for a long time residing in Spain, among very fierce people, they could no where be subdued by any, how barbarous soever: and coming thence about twelve hundred years after, like the out-going of the people of Israel, they purchased, by many victories and much toil, these territories in the West which they now possess, having expelled the Britons and destroyed the Picts; albeit frequently attacked by the Norwegians, Danes, and English; and always maintained their possessions free of all servitude, as the histories of all times testify. In their kingdom one hundred and thirteen kings of their royal progeny reigned, without the intervention of an alien; whose illustrious descendants and exploits, though they were not otherwise apparent, yet are abundantly conspicuous from this, that the king of kings, and Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resurrection, called them, living in the outmost parts of the earth, first to his most holy faith; nor would he have them confirmed

to be equalled in the chronicles of any nation in those days. It is remarkable equally for the A. D. 1320,

firmed by any in this faith but by his first apostle, although second or third in order; to wit, the most meek Andrew, brother of St. Peter, whom our Saviour would have to be always their patron.

“ The most holy fathers, your predecessors, being with great concern persuaded of these things, did bestow upon this kingdom and people, as the flock of the brother of St. Peter, many favours and privileges. Thus our nation hath hitherto, under their protection, continued free and undisturbed; until the magnificent king of England, Edward, the father of the present king, did, under the pretence of a friend and ally, invade our kingdom in a hostile manner, when it wanted a head, and a people conscious to themselves of no guilt or guile, nor then accustomed to quarrels and insults.

“ This prince's injuries, slaughters, violences, depredations, burnings, imprisonment of bishops, setting on fire of monasteries, plundering and murdering of persons in religious orders, and other outrages which he exercised upon that people, without the least regard to age, sex, religion, or orders, none can express, nor fully understand, but such as experience have taught.

“ From these innumerable evils, by the assistance of him who binds up and heals the wounded, are we delivered by our very valiant prince, king and lord, Robert, who, in delivering his people and inheritance out of the hands of their enemies, as another Maccabee or Joshua, cheerfully underwent troubles, toils, hardships, and dangers; whom also Divine Providence, and the right of succession, according to our laws and customs, which we will maintain to the utmost, and the due consent and assent of us all, have made our prince and king. To him, as the deliverer of the people, by preserving our liberties, we are bound to adhere, as well upon account of his right, as by reason of his merit, and to him we will adhere: but if he desist from what he has begun, and shew any inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the kingdom of England, or to the English, we will use our utmost endeavour to expel him immediately, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and our right, and we will make another our king, who is able to defend us; for so long as an hundred Scotmen remain alive, we will never be subjected any manner of way to the dominion of England.

A. D. 1320. spirit of civil and of religious independency, as to every point relating to their national liber-

“ It is not for glory, riches, and honour we fight ; but only for liberty, which no good man loseth but with his life.

“ Wherefore, reverend father and lord, we, with the greatest earnestness and humility, beseech you, that with a sincere and pious disposition, considering that with him whose vicegerent you are on earth, there is no respect of persons, nor distinction of Jew and Greek, of Scots or English ; and looking with a fatherly eye upon the straits and difficulties brought upon us and the church of God by the English, your holiness would be pleased to admonish the king of England, (who should be content with what he possesses ; for, of old, England used to suffice seven or more kings) that he may not disturb our peace in this small country, lying in the uttermost parts of the earth, and desiring nothing but that which is our own, since we are willing, in order to procure a peace, to do most effectually whatever may be consistent with the constitution of our government.

“ It concerns you, holy father, to do this, who behold the cruelty of the heathens raging against the Christians, and the bounds of Christianity daily straitened, whereof the procuring cause is the wickedness of Christians, and may perceive how much it derogates from the memory of your holiness, if (as God forbid) in your time the church in any part should suffer an eclipse, or be scandalized:

“ May therefore your holiness be pleased to excite the Christian princes, who falsely pretend that they cannot go to defend the Holy Land, by reason of the wars which they have with their neighbours ; when the true cause of their impediment is, that they reckon upon a surer advantage, and a weaker resistance, in vanquishing neighbours of less power : but he who knows all things, knows how frankly our lord the king and we would go upon that expedition, if the king of England would not disturb us ; which we proclaim and testify to the vicegerent of Christ, and all Christendom.

“ If your holiness, giving too much faith to the tales of the English, shall not sincerely believe these things, and shall not forbear to favour them in destroying of us, we are persuaded that the Almighty will impute to you the destruction of the souls and bodies, and the other hostilities which the English shall commit upon us, and we upon them ; since that we are, and shall be, as in duty bound, obedient sons in all things to you, as God's vicegerent : and to him, as the great king and judge.

ties, and affords a proof that they were unanimous as to Robert's hereditary title to their crown, according to the constitutions of Scotland: in short, the most devoted slave to despotism, or indefeasible right, cannot deny that the nobility of Scotland, at that time, thought that their laws were superior to their king; that he was no more than the guardian of his people's freedom, and dismissible from his charge and sovereignty the moment he attempted to subvert it.

This letter operated strongly at the court of Rome, and produced an alteration of its conduct towards Robert. His holiness saw that he should expose his authority to contempt, by issuing any more bulls, mandates, or anathemas, against the people of Scotland; and therefore, to extricate himself from his difficulty, he applied to Edward, by a bull, to make peace with Robert in the best manner he could. Edward, fond of seizing an appearance of his devotion to the Holy See, immediately appointed the archbishop of York, the bishop of Carlisle, Baldock, archdeacon of Middlesex, and Geoffrey

A.D. 1329.

A negotiation.

1320.

judge, we commit the defence of our cause, placing our confidence in him, and firmly hoping that he will perfect strength in us, and confound our enemies. And may the Almighty long preserve your holiness in health, for the good of his holy church.

"Given at the monastery of Aberbrothock in Scotland, the sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1320, and of the reign of our said king the fifteenth year."

A. D. 1321. Scroop, to negotiate a definitive treaty with Robert. While this negotiation was going very slowly on, the discontents of the English nobility, under the earl of Lancaster, were revived, on account of the Spencers; and a strong confederacy was formed against Edward in the beginning of the year 1321. Among the confederates we meet with the name of the bishop of Carlisle, and of Umfraville earl of Angus. This nobleman's ancestors, who were English by original, had obtained great estates in Scotland from David the first and his successors; and by marrying the countesses of Angus, became earls by that title. The baron of that name, who signs the letter to the pope, appears to have been a younger brother; the head of the family who had a great estate in England likewise, being an hereditary enemy to the title and person of Robert, for which his estate had been forfeited in his father's life-time. He was at this time, next to the earl of Lancaster, the most considerable of all the English barons; and by joining with the discontented lords, he drew upon himself the indignation of both the sovereigns. Edward, however, got the better of the confederacy, and once more grew popular in his own kingdom. Robert was attentive to every motion of Edward and the confederated lords; and the earl of Hereford, the most active among them, finding their confederacy in danger of being crushed,

Confederacy
against Ed-
ward,

crushed, entered into a secret correspondence, which was managed by the earl of Murray, with Robert. One Sir Richard Chaplain of Topcliff was employed at first as the agent of the confederate lords; and their negotiation seems to have been of the most dangerous tendency to Edward's crown and person. A. D. 1322.

Upon the rolls of parliament, a safe-conduct appears to have been granted by the earl of Murray to Sir John Mowbray, and Sir Roger Clifford, with forty of their attendants, to come into Scotland. Considering the terms upon which that party then stood with Edward, we can scarcely doubt that their errand was to make terms with Robert; and a letter was produced by Edward's party, under the seal of the lord Douglas, addressed to king Arthur, a name by which the earl of Lancaster was generally known. It is true, the caution of the conspirators was so great, that we know nothing of the contents of those and other letters; but the very mention of a correspondence with the Scots proved fatal to the confederated lords, many of whom submitted to Edward, and were sent to different prisons. The earl of Lancaster still continued raising forces in the North, in daily expectation of the Scots declaring in his favour. He was joined by the earl of Hereford; but Harclay, bishop and sheriff of Carlisle, an active experienced soldier, by Edward's orders, took his measures so well, that he cut off
all

and a conspiracy.

A. D. 1322. all communication between the Scots and the two earls. The truth is, Robert seems not to have been much in earnest about supporting the earls, as the truce between the two kingdoms was not yet expired. This I believe was the true reason, why they were defeated by Edward; the earl of Hereford was killed at Borough-bridge, and the earl of Lancaster was taken prisoner as they were endeavouring to fight their way into Scotland. The earl of Lancaster, after a solemn trial before Edward and his peers at Pomfret, was condemned to death, and beheaded. The reader, in the notes, will find the charge against him for corresponding with the Scots *. This is all the relation which this conspiracy has with our history.

* Also that the said earl, with the late earl of Hereford, and other their fellow traitors, endeavoured to make a confederacy with Robert Bruce king of Scots, Thomas Randolph, James Douglas, and other Scotchmen, enemies to the king and kingdom; the which confederacy was found, in the form of an indenture, upon the person of the earl of Hereford, when he was killed, which there follows at large, and is to this effect, viz. "That one John de Denham was to tell Robert, king of Scotland, and the lord Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, and the lord James Douglas, on the behalf of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and their allies, that if the king of Scots, and the said lords, would come with all their power to the assistance of the said earls, &c. at such times and places as should be agreed, and would mischiefe or destroy those whom the said earls would have hurt and destroyed, and save those whom they would have saved; that then the said earls would live and die with them in maintenance of their quarrel, saving any claim, conquest, or signiory over England, Wales, or Ireland; and that if the king of Scots should be hindered by sickness, or any other occasion, so that he could not come in his own person; that then the said earl of Murray, and lord James, should perform, and do whatsoever they had already assured

The truce being expired without any renewal, Edward, who was now freed from all domestic insurrections, once more resumed his preparations to invade Scotland, on which he was so intent, that he sent to his French dominions for a number of slingers and pikemen. His parliament seconded his intentions, by granting him extraordinary supplies; but advised him to put off his expedition from the middle of June to the twenty-fifth of July, when he was to be attended by all his military tenants. This delay proved favourable to Robert, who, before the expiration of the truce, had an army ready on the borders to enter England. He accordingly, by the way of Carlisle, penetrated eighty miles on the side of Lancashire; and being joined by his two active generals, the earls of Murray and Douglas, he returned to Scotland before he could be opposed by Edward. On the second of July we find Edward issuing a writ, directed to Harclay, then earl of Carlisle, his warden of the marches, commanding him to raise all the inhabitants of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, from sixteen to sixty, to take arms;

A.D. 1322,
Scotland
again in-
vaded,

assured the said earls and their allies, and would never march against them in aid of the king of England; and whensoever the said earls, &c. should make an end of their quarrel, they should use their utmost endeavour that a good peace be made between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and that, in the mean time, they (the Scots) should hold the said kingdom as peaceably as they (viz. the English) should do England."

and,

A.D. 1422.

and, in the mean time, to carry off from their grounds all their cattle and effects, lest they should fall into the hands of the Scots. Being sensible of the benefit which Robert had received, from being supplied with arms and provisions by the Flemings, he ordered his barons of the cinque-ports to destroy all the ships of that country which should be found carrying supplies to the Scots; and he appointed Robert Leyburn, the most experienced of all his sea-officers, to be admiral of the fleet that was to attend him during his expedition.

It was the latter end of July before he could begin it; and entering Scotland, as usual, with a vast armament, he found it so much impoverished by the precautions Robert and his generals had taken, that he was forced to depend upon his fleet for the subsistence of his army. Though he met no troops in the field to oppose him, Robert having retired northwards, yet he proceeded with inexpressible fury. The monasteries of Melros and Dryburgh were burnt, and even their aged inhabitants put to the sword. He advanced, indeed, as far as Edinburgh; but, by this time, his supplies from his fleet failed him, and he found himself in danger of losing all his army thro' famine, and was obliged to return southwards. Robert, who was at hand to observe his motions, followed him with some chosen troops, cut off his convoys and stragglers, and routed his

and the
English de-
feated.

A. D. 1322.

his army near the abbey of Byland near Malton. In this battle, which seems rather to have been a surprize than a regular engagement, the earl of Richmond was taken prisoner; and Edward, after losing all his plate, money, and baggage, was pursued to the very gates of York, where he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Robert was too wise to think of making all the advantages which a more incautious conqueror would have aimed at in this campaign. He was contented with burning the town of Rippon, and obliging that of Beverley to pay him four hundred pounds contribution-money; and then he returned, with the booty he had made, to his own dominions.

Robert, now broken with fatigues, rather than age, was, at this time, in earnest for a treaty which might leave the young son (late-ly born to him) and his dominions, in tranquillity. He found that Edward had once more gained the court of Rome to his interest, and, before he left England, he entered into a very extraordinary negotiation with the new earl of Carlisle. It seems to have arisen from the destitute state of the northern inhabitants of England, who received no benefit from the protection of their government. The great services which the earl had performed for his country, had probably made him presume too much upon his own importance; and his correspondence with Robert coming to Edward's ears, he

1323.
A new conspiracy
against Edward.

A. D. 1329. issued letters, admonishing the earl, and his other northern subjects, to desist from such practices. How far the earl regarded those letters does not appear; but it is certain, that on the fifth of February, a writ was issued for apprehending him; and his place, as lord lieutenant of the marches, was given to the earl of Kent. A commission was then made out to try him; and the affair was so alarming to the nation, that Edward thought proper to publish a manifesto, setting forth his guilt, and that he had no authority for entering into any such correspondence. The earl being brought to his trial at Carlisle before his judges, the charge against him was, "That, without the king's knowledge, he had entered into a treaty with Robert Bruce, whom, and his heirs, by oath and writ, the said earl obliged to maintain on the throne of Scotland; that he was to name six persons, and Bruce other six, who were to be vested with full and irrevocable powers to settle the affairs of both kingdoms; and that he had made the people swear to the observance of the same." Though those are the only articles mentioned in the sentence of degradation and death, yet I find others that afterwards passed upon that nobleman in the chronicle of Lannercost, importing,

"That in consideration of this peace, the king of Scots should pay the king of England the sum of eighty thousand marks in ten years, at eight thousand marks per annum."

It

It was also agreed, that king Edward should have the disposal in marriage of his (viz. king Robert's) eldest son, according to the agreement of the twelve noblemen above-mentioned, for the good of both kingdoms, neither of which was to receive each other's enemies; but that if the king of England would not agree to his treaty within one year next ensuing, then the king of Scots was to be free from the said engagements. Those last mentioned articles have no other authenticity than what I have mentioned; and they are highly improbable, though very possibly they might have been mentioned by the earl, or some of the northern barons, during the negotiation. Be that as it may, it is certain that he was, by the sentence of his judges, ignominiously degraded from his knighthood, and suffered the death of a traitor at Carlisle.

A. D. 1323.

The earl of Carlisle beheaded.

When we consider the complexion of Edward's history, the corruption of his judges, and his fondness for the two Spencers, who looked upon the earl of Carlisle as their rival, together with the total ignorance we are under of the defence made by the latter, we cannot help suspecting, that he fell a victim to the intrigues of his enemies. So consummate a politician as Robert was, during the then prosperous state of his affairs, can scarcely be supposed to submit the settlement of his kingdom to a few inconsiderable northern barons; so that we must

A. D. 1323. at least suspend our judgment as to the earl's guilt.

A negotiation,

The French ambassador, or resident, at Edward's court, the lord Senly, had been made a prisoner by Robert (but more probably he suffered himself to become so) at the battle of Borough-bridge. As Robert seems to have been very delicate with regard to the law of nations, he set him at liberty; and he entered upon the office of a mediator between the two nations, we suppose with the consent of his court. Senly, upon his return to England, found no difficulty in bringing Edward to agree to a truce; but a point of form interposed; and nothing can present the reader with a better idea of Robert's spirit and good sense, than the following letter which he wrote to the ambassador.

and truce.

Letter from Robert.

" You may remember, Sir, that, before you left Scotland, we told you, that we were willing to enter into a treaty with the king of England, provided that the kingdom of Scotland should remain free and independent to ourselves and our heirs, and that our allies should suffer no prejudice; and now we have received a transcript from the king, bearing, that he grants a truce to the Scots in arms against him. A way of speaking very strange; for, in all former treaties, although he did not give us the title of king, yet he named us as chief and principal on the one side, as he did

did himself on the other; whereas now he makes no more mention of us than of the meanest of our people. Wherefore be not surprised that we cannot agree to this truce, as it is worded; yet we shall ratify it, if he thinks fit to express himself otherwise. If he does, he must also find a safe-guard to Sir Alexander Seton, Sir William Mountfichet, and Walter Twynham, whom we design to send to England, in order to take his oath that he shall faithfully observe the articles agreed to; but know that we are to stay no longer than till Wednesday after Easter, wherefore let us have an answer in all haste. March 21st. 1323."

A. D. 1323.

Rymer,
vol. III.
p. 222,
& seq.

Upon Robert's receiving satisfaction as to what he complained of, the conferences went on at Thorp in Yorkshire, on the footing of a truce for thirteen years. The Scotch commissioners were Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, Sir John Menteith, Sir Robert Lawder, William bishop of St. Andrew's, and Walter de Twynham, clerk. After various difficulties were surmounted, a truce for thirteen years was at last concluded, upon the following terms: "That all matters which should happen in debate between the subjects of the two crowns, should be settled by the wardens of the marches, or rather of the truce: That all forts and fortresses, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, should remain in statu quo: That the wardens of the marches should grant safe-conducts

Terms of
the truce.

A.D. 1223. conducts for free communications : That each nation should shelter and assist the ships of the other, when driven into its ports by stress of weather; and that neither should make any advantage of the wrecks, but restore all that should be saved to the respective owners." Another article regulated the freedom of commerce and intercourse. Another, That Bruce might not be obstructed in his application of having the interdict upon himself and his kingdom taken off: and another article, That neither party should aid the enemies of the other, except in the case of a war with the king of France. The other articles were matters of form.

Conspiracy
against Robert.

Fordun and Barbour mention a plot which broke out against Robert, but they do not agree as to the precise time; the latter having fixed it posterior to the victory obtained by Robert at Byland. We have no reason to doubt of the fact, but we are in the dark as to particulars, any farther than that William lord Soules was at the head of the conspiracy. The chief of the conspirators were Sir David, who is called the Brechin, and who went by the name of "the Flower of Chivalry," Gilbert Ma-lyerd, John of Logie, and Richard Brown. I have already mentioned, that the father or ancestor of this lord Soules was one of the candidates for the crown of Scotland during the competition; and, according to Barbour, the

intention of the conspirators was to have placed Soules upon the throne. The plot was discovered by a lady (probably the countess of Strathern) to Robert, and Soules was arrested in Berwick, from whence he was carried to Dumbarton. In a parliament held at Scone, Soules, who we are told had three hundred and sixty followers in his livery, besides eighteen knights, together with the countess of Strathern, who had made terms both for him and herself, were convicted, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which Soules died. In Miles, the father of this countess of Strathern, who was married to the English earl of Warren, the male line of that great earldom, which was a palatinate, became extinct. The other conspirators met with a harder measure, being hanged and quartered by horses; but the fate of David the Brechin, who was the darling of the nobility and the army, was particularly severe.

He was son to Henry, the natural son of David earl of Huntingdon; and the charge proved against him amounted to no more than misprision of treason. This was held to be capital, and he likewise suffered the death of a traitor. In going to his execution he was attended by his friend, Elgelram de Umfraville (whom I have mentioned to have been brother to the earl of Angus) who acted a part that gives him a respectable place in history. Perceiving

Noble behaviour of Umfraville.

A. D. 1328. ceiving the people press to see the execution, he told them aloud, that he had seen them assemble in greater crowds to receive his bounty, than they then did to behold his punishment. When the execution was over, he gave his friend's body a decent burial; and then repairing to Robert, begged the favour he would give him leave to dispose of his lands in Scotland. Robert, startled at this request, asked him the reason; and he gallantly owned, that he could not think of remaining in a land where such a man as David Brechin had suffered so ignominious a death. Robert, with equal magnanimity, granted his request; and Umfraville having disposed of his estate, retired to England, where he arrived just before the long truce was signed. A man of his consequence could not fail of being agreeable to Edward, who asked his advice and opinion, whether the Scots would be able to hold out another invasion. He frankly answered in the affirmative, "and that his majesty was greatly deceived as to the state of Robert's army, which was composed of better troops than his own. But, added he, Robert is old, and may die; sign therefore a long truce, and the Scots, in the mean time, will forget the use of arms;" which Edward accordingly did.

Eustace de Maxwell, Walter de Berclay, Sheriff of Aberdeen, Sir Patrick de Grahame, Hamelin de Troupe, and Eustace de Retreve, or Ruth-

Ruthven, were tried in the same parliament, and upon the same charge; but were acquitted for want of evidence. A. D. 1323.

As the above executions are the most questionable part of Robert's reign, I have related them after the best authorities. I must not, however, stifle the account of the same conspiracy given by Boece and Buchanan. According to them, Robert, in a parliament at Perth, demanded his nobles to produce the charters by which they held their lands; whereupon they shewed him their naked swords. He dissembled; but the nobles being afraid of his resentment, they entered into a correspondence with Edward, which was discovered in the hollow stick of a pilgrim; and Robert thereupon ordered Soules, who was governor of Berwick, to be arrested. This account, not to mention the great disparity of its authenticity, and part of it being of a piece with what happened in the English parliament under Edward the first, is full of inconsistencies. Is it to be supposed that a prince, equally wise and brave, who, like Robert, had been carried through seas of blood to his throne, by the affections of his subjects, would take the first opportunity of kindling a civil war, when a foreign one was raging; or that he would, during such a fluctuation of interest as both wars must produce, make so unreasonable a demand upon his subjects? Perhaps, when we consider the state of property,

Difficulties
concerning
it.

A. D. 1326.

The reason
why the
Scotch alli-
ance with
France is
renewed,

historians apprehended. Charles the Fair, of France, had no children of his own; and the king of England's son being next in blood to that crown, he was not sure how far the Salic law would operate in favour of Philip de Valois, who, according to the French constitution, was to be his successor. Charles thought that, in case of any dispute, Robert would be the most useful ally that the French nation could have. A special clause was therefore inserted in the treaty, that "in case either the king of France, or the king of Scotland, should die; so that it may be uncertain who is the lawful successor to the crown; the title shall, in such case, be decided by the nobility of each kingdom, who shall declare the person having the right to reign." After this declaration, the contracting parties severally agreed, each for himself, "That they will not only oppose other princes (the original tyrants) from taking any advantage of the kingdom thus disputed; but likewise, if it shall be found necessary, shall appear with a strong army in defence of the lawful heir."

1327.

The deposition of Edward the second, which happened about this time, justified the wisdom of this treaty. Without entering into the motives or principles of that revolution on the part of the English, it is certain that Robert thought himself no longer bound to observe the truce; and it is not at all improbable that he dis-
approved

approved of Edward the second's deposition, and refused to own his son as king, during his father's life-time. Robert had for some time foreseen the event; and at the time of the younger Edward's succession, he had a strong body of troops lying on the borders, which they passed the moment they knew of the elder Edward's resignation. Their first object was the re-taking of Norham-castle, which had fallen into the hands of the English; but in this they failed, through the vigilance of Sir Robert Manners, the governor. Ambassadors from the court of England were at this time in Scotland; but we know not whether Robert admitted them to any audience in that character. I am apt to think he did not; for we are told that, after they had resided for some time at his court, he sent a public information to the English government, that he was preparing to invade England with fire and sword. He was then unfit to take the field in person; but he delegated the command of his army, as usual, to his two brave generals, the earl of Murray, and the lord Douglas. If we are to believe the English authors, (for I find no good Scotch authority to ascertain the fact) Robert at this time had an army of twenty thousand horse, but without foot in proportion. Young Edward sent his uncle, the earl-marshal of England, to secure Newcastle upon Tyne. The lord Robert Ufford,

and

A. D. 1327.
War again
breaks out
between the
Scotch and
the English.

A.D. 1327. and the lord John Mowbray, threw themselves, with a body of men, into Carlisle, which was governed by the lord Lacy; and two thousand foreigners were taken into pay under lord John of Hainault. Upon the whole, the younger Edward is said, at this juncture, to have had no fewer than a hundred thousand men in his army. His mother, who was a foreigner, equally lascivious as lavish, had one third more revenue than her son, on account of her large debts, if we are to believe English authors; but a shameful partiality for Mortimer began now to alarm young Edward and his friends; and there is no denying that it was of great advantage to Scotland. The English army rendezvoused at the city of York, to the number of sixty thousand men; but the insolence of the foreigners, who were abetted by the queen-mother, drew upon them the resentment of the English so severely, that had not young Edward interposed, at her request, they must have been cut in pieces. A considerable deal of blood-shed however happened, and part of the city of York was burnt down in the fray.

to the great
detriment of
the latter.

From York the English advanced to Durham; and they understood, to their amazement, that the troops, who had been sent to reinforce the garrisons of Carlisle and Newcastle, had suffered the Scots to pass the Tyne; and that the latter, after beating a party of the English militia at Darlington,

A. D. 1327.

lington, had renewed their ravages. Edward was full of spirits, but young and inexperienced. His army was clogged with great quantities of baggage, and he found it unable to bring the Scots to an engagement, though the two bodies were often within sight of each other. He came at last to a resolution to disencumber his army of all their heavy carriages, and to follow the Scots by the smoke of the burnings with which they laid waste the country. Even this expedient proved unsuccessful; and it was determined, in Edward's council, to pass the Tyne, and to carry the war into Scotland itself. By executing this project, which was unknown to the Scots, Edward got a day's march of his enemies, and passed the Tyne, but found his army destitute of provisions, and in a most miserable condition; the waters of the Tyne having risen so much, that Edward's foot could not, for some time, pass the river. They were then mid-way between Newcastle and Carlisle; and, by their late motions, they had lost all intelligence of the Scots; so that Edward thought proper to offer a hundred pounds in land, to any who could discover them.

Edward's army continued still to be divided by the river; and he at last resolved to repass it, about seven miles lower, that he might take quarters in the fertile bishopric of Durham. It was not without prodigious difficulties, and losing a number of his horses, that Edward effected

A.D. 1327. fected the rejunction of his foot and cavalry. The Scotch historians have left us in the dark as to the motions of their army; but their officers seem to have had no apprehension from the unwieldy divided numbers of their enemies, as appears from their conduct. They had made an Englishman, one Thomas Rokesby, a prisoner; and he informing them, that it was in their power to enrich him with an hundred pounds a year in land, they magnanimously set him at liberty; and when he arrived in the English camp, he made the discovery; upon which Edward not only gave him the reward, but knighted him in sight of all his army. Upon reconnoitring that of the Scots, he found that it lay about the distance of three miles, upon a rising-ground, with the river Ware in its front. Edward gave orders to form the line of battle, and was advancing with a resolution to pass the river, when he saw the Scots leave the rising-ground, and form such a disposition on the banks of the river, as to render his passing it impracticable. His situation exasperated him so much, that he sent a defiance, as was the custom of those days, to his enemies; and offered to retire, to leave them at liberty to pass the river; and promising to fight them, if they would comply with the same condition on their part.

The Scots
discovered.

The Scotch generals called a council of war, and very properly sent to inform Edward, that
it

it was absurd to think that he was to direct them in their operations, especially as he knew that his numbers were treble to theirs. This answer determined Edward to change his plan of operations, and to pass the river at another place. For three days the two armies faced each other, but in very different circumstances. The provident Scots had plenty in their camp, while all the friendly offices of the neighbouring country could not prevent Edward's army from being distressed to the last degree for want of provisions. The Scots saw his intentions, and silently decamping, they removed to Stanhope park, where they took up a new spot, still more advantageous than what they had left; for they had not only the Ware in their front, but their rear and flanks were secured by impassable woods and bogs. Edward, however, passed the river, but found his enemies could be only attacked in their front, and that at a prodigious disadvantage. He and his foreign officers, however, exulted upon the cowardice, as they called it, of the Scots; and they lay encamped in so disorderly a manner, that the lord Douglas, who commanded the Scots, formed a scheme for surprising Edward in his tent, and carrying him off. With this view he picked out five hundred of his best horse, according to Barbour, but other authors mention only two hundred, and making a large circuit, he fell into the English camp with

A. D. 1327.

Bold attempt of the
lord Douglas.

A. D. 1327. irresistible fury, and made directly for Edward's tent. According to the English authors, that prince would have certainly been killed or taken prisoner, had it not been for his own valour. His chamberlain and chaplain were killed in endeavouring to save him; but Edward drawing his sword, made so good a defence, that his guards had time to come to his relief. Douglas, in this desperate attempt, is said to have killed about three hundred of the English; but finding he was discovered, he blew his horn, which assembled his men; and giving orders for a retreat, he brought up the rear in person, and returned to the Scotch camp, tho' not without considerable loss on his own part *.

1328.
The Scots
return to
their own
country,
after ravag-
ing England.

Notwithstanding the valour with which this exploit was conducted, the Scots, after their enemies had passed the river, found their situation altered much for the worse, and that they were in their turn threatened with a scarcity of provisions. When Douglas told his adventure to the earl of Murray, the latter proposed to give the English battle, but Douglas was of a different opinion; and it was resolved to make the best retreat they could to their own coun-

* It is surprising that Barbour, who is very minute in his relations, does not mention the particular circumstance of Edward's danger. He says, that Douglas entered the English camp at a place where no watch was kept, but that he was discovered by two English soldiers. Barbour, very possibly, did not much approve of Douglas's design upon Edward's person.

try, but to give out the orders in so ambiguous a manner, as to deceive the English. This retreat was conducted with admirable foresight. Proclamation was made, that all their troops should be under arms next morning, and a prisoner was suffered to escape to give Edward intelligence of this order. He imagined that the Scots intended to fight him; upon which he called in all his out-parties, and formed his army in a line of battle. While this was doing, the Scots gained some hours march; and when day began to break, Edward was informed of their departure. His army fell into a kind of despondency; and in a council of war it was resolved, that, considering their late fatigues, and that the greatest part of the Scotch army consisted of cavalry, it would be unadvisable to pursue them, but that they should take possession of their camp. The English authors are full of the extraordinary appearance it made. Nothing was to be seen but shoes made of the undrest hides of cattle, and wooden spits, from whence depended skins of the same kind, filled with water for boiling their victuals. Froissard, who was a foreigner, and present in the expedition, gives us a very extraordinary idea of the cookery of the Scotch soldiers in those days. He says, that most of them carried about them a small bag of oatmeal, which they kneaded into bread, and baked it upon small thin iron plates, which

P p 2 seems,

A. D. 1328. seems, in fact, to have been part of their armour. Be that as it may, they undoubtedly had, through their temperance and abstemiousness, great advantages over their enemies.

A peace set
on foot.

Upon comparing all the circumstances of this very extraordinary campaign, some writers say, that Mortimer, and the queen-mother of England's party, had secret intelligence with the heads of the Scots, and that they were privy to the manner in which the retreat of the latter was conducted. It is certain, that such a correspondence was afterwards made an article of impeachment against Mortimer; and yet this opinion is hardly reconcileable to the desperate attempt made by Douglas upon Edward's person. Edward returned to Durham, and marched from thence to York with his army, which, during four-and-twenty days, had undergone inexpressible fatigues and hardships. His bad success had opened the mouths of the public against his mother and Mortimer, so that it was found expedient to murder the elder Edward in the barbarous manner related by the English historians, lest he should be restored to his throne. There can be no doubt that the queen-mother and her party had been all along disposed towards a peace with the Scots. On the twentieth of November preceding the late expedition, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Lincoln, the earl of Surry, the lord Piercy, and other English noblemen, were

Rymer.

A. D. 1328.

were named commissioners for putting an end to the war between the two kingdoms. We are told, that an hundred deputies from Scotland attended at the same time, and were furnished with safe-conducts for their return. This treaty was adjourned from Newcastle to York, there to be finished. The queen and her party having Edward in their power, carried all before them; and as the first proof of their sincerity towards the Scotch nation, the following charter of renunciation was published by Edward.

“ To all the faithful in Christ, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain.

Remarkable charter of renunciation.

“ Whereas ourselves, and some of our predecessors, kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain the rights of the dominion, and superiority of the kingdom of Scotland; and have thereby occasioned most grievous, dangerous, and long wars between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: We therefore, considering the slaughters, butcheries, crimes, ruin of churches, and innumerable mischiefs those wars have brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms, as also the good and mutual advantages that must needs accrue to both kingdoms, when fastened together by the solidity of a perpetual peace, and thereby more firmly secured, both within and without, against
all

A.D. 1328. all rebels and rebellious designs; by the common counsel, assent, and consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of our kingdom, assembled in parliament, will and grant, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, That the kingdom of Scotland, according to its true marches, as they were understood and settled in the time of the late Alexander king of Scotland, (of worthy memory) remain for ever to the most magnificent prince Robert, by the grace of God, king of the Scots, our illustrious ally, and most dear friend, his heirs and successors, divided from the kingdom of England, so as that it may remain entire, free, and quiet, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatever: and whatever right we or our predecessors did, in past times, ask or pretend to in the kingdom of Scotland, we hereby renounce and give up, for us, our heirs and successors, to the said king of Scotland; as also all obligations, agreements, or compacts, made by or with any of our predecessors, at any time, concerning the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, or its people, made by any kings, ecclesiastical inhabitants or laics, of the kingdom of Scotland itself. And if any letters or charters, instruments or documents, concerning those obligations, agreements, and compacts, shall be found, we will, That for the future they be accounted as cancelled, unauthentic,

thentic, void, and of no value or moment. A. D. 1328.
 And for the more full, peaceable, and faithful
 observance of the premises, in all times to come,
 we have given, by others our letters-patent,
 full power and a special mandate to our well-
 beloved and trusty Henry de Piercy, our cousin,
 and William la Zouch de Afheby, or either
 of them, to swear upon our salvation for the
 performance of the same. In witness whereof
 we have ordered these our letters-patent to be
 made out, dated at York, the first day of
 March, in the second year of our reign, by the
 king himself, and council in parliament."

The reader, upon comparison, will find, that
 the above charter is more ample, and better
 authenticated, than the copies of it we meet
 with in the English historians, and that it was
 passed in the most solemn manner by Edward.
 It is undoubtedly a record of the utmost im-
 portance to this history, and has been most
 vilely misrepresented; even the existence of it
 has been disputed by some English historians,
 enemies to the independency of Scotland. The
 copy I have followed is an original duplicate,
 which had been deposited in the archives of
 the metropolitan church of Glasgow, from
 whence it was carried by archbishop James
 Beaton, to save them from the fury of the re-
 formers, and deposited in the Scotch college at
 Paris, where it still remains, together with an
 exemplification of the letters-patent, granted
 to

Observation
 upon the
 same.

A.D. 1328. to the lord Henry Piercy and William de la Zouch, to swear to the observance of them in Edward's name*.

This was a great point gained to the Scotch nation, which in other respects had but a dismal prospect. The health of their king, whose valour and wisdom had raised them to riches and independency, was visibly on the decline. Robert had called a parliament at Cambus-kenneth, where he was present in person; and producing his young son, David, before the assembly, they willingly recognized him as his successor; and, in case of his demise, Robert Stuart, grandson to the king by the great steward of Scotland, was to be substituted in his place. This probability of a minority facilitated the conclusion of the peace between Scotland and England. The meeting of the commissioners at York was very splendid, especially on the side of the Scots; and the terms of a peace were actually agreed upon, though the queen and Mortimer did not think proper, at that time, to publish them, because they knew they would be opposed by the old English nobility. The terms were, that David the prince of Scotland, though no more than five years

Terms of
the peace.

* The circumstance of the lord Henry Piercy being nominated in this charter, to swear to its observance in Edward's name, renders it improbable that he opposed the whole of this treaty, as some English historians say he did. By the best information I can have, he opposed only that part of it which related to the English giving up the lands they held in Scotland.

old,

old, should be contracted to the princess Joan, A.D. 1328. who was pretty much of the same age, and sister to Edward the third. Robert was to pay twenty thousand marks (Hearne's edition of Fordun says more truly thirty thousand) in consideration of the damages which the English had sustained from his army during the preceding year: All grants of lands to Englishmen in Scotland, unless they resided there, were to be void: The crown of Scotland renounced all pretensions to Cumberland, Northumberland, and other places it held in England: The Scotch regalia and crown-jewels were to be returned; and all the evidences of the dependency of Scotland upon England were deemed to be void and of no effect. Abercrombie imagines, that, by the same peace, Scotchmen were to be restored to the lands they held in England; but he probably is misled by a charter, granted to Sir James Douglas, of the lands of Fawden in Northumberland, which he held before the war, and were now given up to him (as the charter expresses it) by Edward's special favour *. Four years were allowed for the execution of this treaty, which probably was the reason why the surrender of the charters, and the evidences of the Scotch dependency, never were performed. The most material article, however, was carried into im-

* De gratia nostra speciali, are the words of the charter.

A.D. 1328.
The prince
of Scotland
married to
the princess
Joan of
England.

mediate execution; for on the seventeenth of July, David prince of Scotland espoused Joan, sister to Edward the third, in the presence of her mother, and a numerous noble assembly of both nations, who expressed extraordinary marks of joy upon the occasion.

Reflection.

I shall admit that this peace was unpopular in England, and is still treated as highly dishonourable by the English historians. It is, however, to be considered, that the Scots were not now the miserable divided people the first Edward had found them during his invasions. Even he, with all his power, valour, and policy, could not tame them into abject submission; though, besides the strength of his armies, he had a king of Scotland for his slave. For twenty-nine years before the conclusion of this peace, the Scots had been signally victorious, and had given the English the greatest defeat they had ever suffered, perhaps, either before or since. They were in such esteem, and had formed such connections with the most respectable powers on the continent, that they had become opulent by their commerce, as well as by the immense spoils of their enemies; and, above all, they had at their head the greatest prince and general of his age. The English, on the other hand, were distracted with civil broils, occasioned by their own rebellion and inconstancy; and had even Edward been of mature age, he could not have formed
any

A.D. 1328.

any plan of government that, in the situation his kingdom was, could have restored it to that pitch of greatness at which his grandfather left it. These, and a variety of other considerations, too tedious to mention here, induce me to be of opinion, that this peace was far from being so inadequate as English writers have represented it; and that it was equally wise and seasonable for the affairs of both kingdoms.

We learn from Fordun, that, even while the negotiation was on foot, Robert, feeble as he was, had taken the field, and had besieged both Alnwick and Norham; where William de Montalto, John de Clapham, and Robert (some call him Miles) de Dobery, three brave English knights, lost their lives. Robert, after this diversion (for such I suppose it to have been) returned to Edinburgh, where he received the English ambassadors, and where, I am inclined to think, the outlines of the treaty were formed.

Robert
takes the
field in
person.

That Robert's civil were not inferior to his military virtues, appears by his introducing into his parliament a new estate, I mean representatives from the communities of burghs, which distinguish the latter from villages. He obtained a bull from pope John the seventh, enjoining the ceremony of unction at the coronation of the Scotch kings, together with the form of an oath before that ceremony was performed, which I shall give to the reader in

His civil re-
gulations,

A. D. 1328, my history of the next reign. These are circumstances that fully evidence Robert's affection for the liberties of his people, and that he thought they were too loosely guarded by the form observed at the coronation of Alexander the third.

and last
parliament,

The prodigious toils and fatigues which Robert had undergone in his youth, affected him now with an universal rheumatism, which, according to some, was attended with a leprosy, and disabled him from being present at his son's marriage, the care of which he committed to the earl of Murray and the lord Douglas. He recovered, however, so well after the marriage, that he received his son and daughter-in-law, and ordered a parliament to meet at Perth, in order to confirm the succession of the crown to his son David and his heirs, and, failing them, to his grandson, the great steward of Scotland; all which was accordingly done. Barbour, whose authority at this time must be of the greatest weight, says, that after this recognition David was crowned by his father's order. Though the other Scotch historians make no mention of this ceremony being then performed, yet nothing was more common than for the princes of the continent, those of Spain particularly, to order their sons, however young they might be, to be crowned in their life-time. It was with a peculiar propriety that Robert, who knew that the Baliol

fa-

in which
his son is
crowned.

family was still in being, invested his son with this mark of sovereignty during his own lifetime; because it rendered the oaths of fidelity taken by his nobles the more solemn and sacred. We are not, however, to imagine that, had Robert lived many years after this, the young prince would have looked upon himself as sovereign of Scotland from this coronation, for the executive power must have still remained with his father.

A. D. 1328.

This was the last public scene of Robert's life. Finding death approach, he ordered himself to be carried to his castle of Cardross, lying on the western side of the river Leven; and in his last hours, he ordered his chief officers of war and state to assemble in his bed-chamber, to receive his dying commands. These were, that in case of a war with England, they should by all means avoid a general engagement, but to harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, or sudden attacks; and never to make a peace or truce with England that was to last above three or four years, lest the disuse of arms should enervate the people. He then, in the manner of the times, told them, that as he often purposed to visit the Holy Land, he was greatly desirous his heart should be carried thither; but, according to Barbour, he left to them the choice of the person to perform that commission, desiring them to retire immediately, and to report to him the result of their deliberation. His last request

His political testament,

A. D. 1328. request was, that they never should give the government of the western-islands * to one person.

Such is said to have been the political testament of Robert Bruce, and happy had it been for his country, had the first article of it been complied with; but the silence of Barbour and Fordun makes me suspect the authenticity of all the rest, except what relates to his heart being carried to the Holy Land. His advising his subjects to live in an almost perpetual state of war with the English, favours too much of barbarism, not to mention its being contradicted by the long truce he himself had concluded. Whatever may be in this conjecture, Barbour tells us that his attendants were drowned in tears, while he delivered his orders concerning his heart; and retiring from his presence, they made choice of the lord Douglas to execute the melancholy office. This being reported to Robert, he said, that they had pitched upon the very man whom he had long wished to perform it; a compliment so agreeable to Douglas, that he fell upon his knees by the bed, and bedewed his dying master's hand with tears of gratitude and

* From this passage, and many others that must occur to the reader in the course of this history, he will be sensible that the western islands of Scotland were objects of far greater importance formerly than they are now. The decrease of population, and consequently agriculture, is visible in many other parts of Europe.

affection. The delicacy of Robert, in taking the advice of his nobles in an affair which he had so greatly at heart, is admirable, as it might have created ill blood among them, had he himself given the preference to any one; and their judicious obtemperance of what they knew to be their king's secret desire, was equally noble, and no doubt softened his dying moments; for he expired in a few hours after, on the eleventh of June 1329, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

A. D. 1329.

death,

A more unjust charge never was brought against the memory of any prince, than what has been urged against that of Robert, for his having deserted the English interest, in which he had been brought up from his childhood, under a father and grandfather who were so much devoted to that party, that they had not the spirit to vindicate their undoubted rights of succession, according to the constitution of their country; for it is remarkable, that the Scotch nobility, in their famous letter to the pope, which I have already given my readers, confine Robert's title to that mode of hereditary right which then obtained in Scotland. After he had formed true notions of what he owed to himself and his people, no prince can be produced in history who prosecuted them with greater firmness, or under greater difficulties; and, at last, with more success. None was ever less indebted than Robert was, to chance. If he was fortunate

and character.

A.D. 1329. fortunate in any respect, it was in the courage, attachment, and fidelity of that circle of friends who attended him through his various, and almost insupportable distresses. With regard to his civil virtues, even the English writers have not been able to fix the least stain upon his conduct; for he undoubtedly had the right, in which the common cause of sovereigns is concerned; I mean that of taking arms to free his brother-king and confederate from deposition, captivity, and death. His humanity, especially towards his captives, when we consider the ^{barbarous} ungenerous proceedings of Edward the first in that respect, and the provocations Robert received in every feeling of nature and affection, joined to the barbarous practice of the times, is almost incredible; but I have reason to believe was of service to his affairs; as it gained him many secret friends in England. I have fully considered the only part of his reign that renders his clemency questionable, I mean his proceedings against David de Brechin, and the other delinquents who were executed at Perth during the session of what is called the Black Parliament. That it took its rise from a dangerous conspiracy formed by the English party against Robert is, I think, unquestionable; and if the examples of justice then made seem somewhat too severe, we are to impute it to state necessity. There is indeed somewhat unaccountable in condemning Soules, while the other

other conspirators, who intended to set him on the throne suffered death. Upon the whole, however, there is the greatest reason to believe, from Robert's general conduct, that he proceeded with great moderation, and prudently stifled the proofs that were brought against many of the other conspirators.

Robert's gratitude to his particular friends, such as the earl of Murray, the lord Douglas, Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Colin Campbel, (ancestor to the present duke of Argyle,) and a few others, on whom he bestowed great estates, and the chief dignities of his kingdom, unquestionably created him many enemies, and might have been one of the motives that gave rise to the above conspiracy; but Robert, in those instances of gratitude, discovered a magnanimity seldom known among kings, who are apt to reward the subjects, whose power they dread, and whose friendship they court, equally with those whose services and affections they have experienced. His undertaking to place his brother on the throne of Ireland; his lending him a force that had almost effected it; and his assisting him in person, at a time when a war was raging on the frontiers of his own dominions, shew an unexampled compass of genius, and demonstrate how true a judgment he could make of mankind, in the choice of his friends and generals; for we know of no prejudice his dominions received by his absence. For the rest of this great

A.D. 1329. prince's character, we must refer the reader to the masterly sketch of it drawn by Buchanan.

His progeny. Robert's family, at the time of his death, was but weak. His grandson, the high-steward of Scotland, by the daughter of his first marriage with Garthenay, sister to the earl of Mar, was young; and his own son and successor David, by his second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter to Henry de Burgh, earl of Ulster, was little more than five years of age. We cannot properly close the reign of Robert Bruce without attending the lord Douglas to his grave likewise.

Douglas sets out for the Holy Land with Robert's heart.

That gallant nobleman bravely performed the service he had undertaken to his master. He was joined in his expedition by Sir William Sinclair of Rosline, Sir William Keith, and Sir Robert Logan, and about two hundred other knights and gentlemen. According to Bœce, and other Scotch authors, he reached Palestine, and buried the heart, which was embalmed and enclosed in a golden-case, in a spot near the holy sepulchre; after which he and his gallant train performed many noble exploits against the infidels: but in their return home, landing in Spain, where king Alphonso was at war with the Moors, he was persuaded to engage in Alphonso's quarrel, and was killed by the infidels. I believe, however, upon enquiry, it will be found, that Douglas never reached the Holy Land; and I shall therefore follow Barbour in
his

his relation, which receives countenance from the histories of Spain *. A. D. 1329.

According to him, Robert's body being buried at Dumfermling with great pomp and state, Douglas suspended the gold-box, which contained his heart, in a cord round his neck, and wore it upon his breast; and after making his testament, he embarked with his attendants at Berwic. Though their voyage was very tempestuous, they landed at Seville in Spain, where they received the compliments of king Alphonso, who offered them all proper accommodations, which Douglas declined accepting of, as he and his company were well provided with gold, silver, and every requisite for their voyage. The reader is here to observe, (though it is not taken notice of by Barbour) that about this time the popes admitted the services performed against the Moors of Spain to be of

Lands in Spain.

His adventures and death.

* To what I have said concerning the authenticity of Barbour's history, it may be proper to add a very pregnant confirmation of it, in an excellent manuscript of Fordun now in the British Museum, and which I have no doubt are Fordun's own words, though omitted in the MSS made use of by Mr. Hearne. Fordun, after giving some reasons why he did not descend to the minute particulars of Robert's reign, adds the following: "Tum etiam quia magister Johannes de Barberne, archidiaconus Abindonenſis, in lingua nostra materna, diſerte & luculenter ſatis, ipſa particularia geſta eius, nec non multum eleganter, peroravit, et ideo nugatorium ceſſerem huius modi ſua geſta preſentibus apicibus commendare." In English, "Because Mr. John Barberne, archdeacon of Aberdeen, has eloquently, elegantly, and copiously treated of Robert's particular actions in our mother tongue, I therefore ſhould think it nugatory for me to commit to the preſent ſheets his actions of that kind."

A, D. 1329. equal value and merit as those against the infidels in Palestine. This consideration had drawn to Spain numbers of brave noblemen and knights from various parts of Europe, particularly from England, who were of infinite service to Alphonso, and the other christian princes there, in their Moorish wars. Froissard, who very possibly was acquainted with the brave Douglas, gives us a very high idea of his magnificence. He says, that he lay for twelve days on the Flemish coast, in order to invite the knights of France and Flanders to join him in his expedition; and that he had an excellent band of music, which he made use of to proclaim this invitation; but that being devoutly wedded to his purpose, he did not once set his foot on shore during the whole time. He was attended by two knights bannerets *, six other knights, twenty-six vigorous esquires, besides other young gentlemen; and all the vessels he was served in were of gold and silver. The entertainments he gave his numerous visitants were not only sumptuous but royal, every one being treated according to his quality and distinction. No sooner was the landing of Douglas and his

1331.

* This is an evident proof, that the order of bannerets then existed in Scotland as well as in England. The operation was very simple. The party presented to the king his pennon, which terminated, as now, in two points; and the king cutting those off, the pennon became square, or a banner, which the king returning to the party, he became a knight banneret.

company known, than all the nobility and knights in Spain crowded to Seville, that they might see the men whose valour they had so often heard of with rapture and admiration. One of those knights, whose face was seamed with wounds and scars, could not help expressing his astonishment when he saw that of Douglas smooth and unscarred; and asking the reason, Douglas told him, "that God had given him hands which could defend himself, as well as annoy his enemy." The modest air with which he spoke this, gained Douglas great applause from the company, who thought it a very proper rebuke to the other's impertinent curiosity. The king of Spain was then lying upon the borders of Granada, to which Douglas and his company immediately repaired, and offered him their services against the infidels. The offer was gladly accepted by Alphonso, who gave him the leading of his vanguard against the Moors, whose forces were drawn out for battle. According to Barbour (but Froissard makes no mention of the circumstance) in making ready for the charge, he threw before him, to some distance, the relic which hung from his neck, in remembrance of the many glorious victories he had obtained when Robert led the way; and following it, he recovered it again. In the remaining part of the relation there is a surprising agreement between Froissard and Barbour, who say, that the

A.D. 1331. tween England and Scotland, soon brought the kingdom into excellent order, which the regent maintained by his own active intrepidity, and keeping on foot a strong body of guards to serve the public, when offenders were too powerful for justice. The borders being found the most lawless, he sent an officer to order a body of free-booters, who had assembled themselves there, to disperse; but no regard being paid to the proclamation, they were immediately surrounded by Randolph's guards, and three-score of them carried to Haddington, where they were hanged.

It is admitted by all historians, that the Scots never had seen such happy, peaceable, and plentiful days, as the few they enjoyed under this excellent regent; but he was worn out in the service of his country, and in the third year of his government he contracted an incurable disease. The court of England undoubtedly beheld with a jealous eye the flourishing state of Scotland; but I cannot with Boece, Buchanan, and other prejudiced Scotch writers, wound the memory of a great prince, by supposing, that Edward the third of England, and his counsellors, employed a monk to administer poison to Randolph, which put an end to his life *. Fordun is silent as to this atrocious

His death.

* I have reserved the sequel of this calumny to this note. After the monk (say the authors) had administered the poison, he returned to the court of England, and assuring Edward that he could

charge. Barbour, indeed, mentions Randolph's A.D. 1331. being poisoned by a monk, but he does not call him an English one; and we are not to forget, that a Scotch monk might have been found enthusiastic and wicked enough to poison a prince who had hanged a malefactor with the pope's pardon in his pocket. What we know for certain is, that Randolph, after having adjusted some differences with the English, died at Musselburgh in East-Lothian, on the twentieth of July, 1332. Upon the death of this great man, the Scotch parliament assembled at Perth; and, after various debates, Donald earl of Mar was chosen to succeed him. 1332.

On the eighth of December, 1331, the young king David was crowned and anointed at Scone, according to the ceremonial prescribed by the bull I have already mentioned, by James Ben (more probably Bane) bishop of St. Andrew's. At his coronation he knighted his cousin, Thomas Randolph, son to the late regent, and John Stuart, earl of Angus. But before the new regent could exhibit any proof of his capacity for government, a scene unfolded itself, which overturned all the glorious labours of Robert.

Grounds of
a new war
with Eng-
land.

could not survive it, that prince put himself at the head of a great army, and invaded Scotland. Receiving intelligence that he would be opposed by the regent, with an army equal to his own, he sent a trumpet to demand a parley. The regent, dissimbling his infirmity, gave audience to the messengers, who reporting to Edward that Randolph was in good health, he immediately returned to England, but left a body of troops upon the borders.

A. D. 1332.
History of
Edward
Baliol in
France,

John Baliol had died obscurely in the year 1314, leaving behind him two sons, Edward and Henry. The claim of the father devolving upon Edward, a prince of military accomplishments, he was taken into the favour and protection of Edward late king of England, at whose request the king of France gave him the investiture of his estate in that kingdom, but obliged him to repair thither to receive it. Upon his return, he entered into secret connections with all the English noblemen who had been disseized of their estates in Scotland, by the clause of non-residence, inserted in the treaty of Northampton, which had been highly disapproved of by Edward the third, though he resolved inviolably to preserve the four years truce. It does not fall within the province of general history, to specify the titles under which those noblemen claimed; but the names of the principal were, the lord Henry viscount Beaumont, who, in right of his wife, laid claim to the earldom of Buchan; the young lord David Strathbolgie, earl of Athol; the lord Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus; Henry lord Piercy, who claimed Galloway, by what right I know not; Thomas lord Wake, the lord Fulk Fitzwarren, Ralph lord Stafford, Henry lord Ferrers of Groby, John lord Mowbray, Sir Alexander Mowbray, his kinsman, the lord Richard Talbot, and Sir Roger Swinnerton. In the mean time, the regency of Scotland had punctually
ful-

fulfilled that treaty, and a good understanding seemed to be returning between the two courts. As the lord Beaumont and Wake were favourites with Edward, the latter made strong applications in their favour, that the earldom of Buchan should be restored to the former, and that of Liddefdale to the latter; but he met with an absolute denial.

This introduced some coldness between the two courts. Edward complained of some dilapidations committed by the Scots in the bishopric of Durham; and the lord Beaumont was incessantly putting him in mind, that Edward Baliol, if employed and supported by him, might restore to him all the rights of his crown over Scotland, which had been lost since his grandfather's death. About the beginning of the year 1330, the lord Beaumont paid a visit to Baliol in France, where they planned the invasion of Scotland, which was afterwards executed; and in October following Edward sent over a safe-conduct for Baliol to prepare for England. The latter required but little solicitation for that purpose. One Twenge, a Scotch out-law, who had been banished for the most infamous crimes, had applied to him, and had laid before him the defenceless state of Scotland, and represented with how much ease he might revive his family claims upon that crown. Other fugitives and out-laws were not wanting, who enforced Twenge's applica-

A.D. 1332. tion; and many of the Cummings and Baliol's own family undoubtedly wished for a revolution.

He arrives
in England,
and prepares
to invade
Scotland.

Before Edward's safe-guard arrived at Quimper, the paternal estate of Baliol in France, John Barnby, one of his favourite domestics, and a Yorkshire man, had killed a Frenchman; and being pursued by the officers of justice, he was protected by Baliol, who privately sent him over to England. This exasperated the king of France so greatly, that he sequestered Baliol's estate, and threw himself into prison, from whence he was delivered by the great interest which the lord Beaumont had at the French court; and passing over to England, he remained, for some time, secreted at the manor of Sandall in Yorkshire, with the lady Vesci, Beaumont's sister. Edward acted on this occasion the part of a consummate politician. He had, for some time, secretly disliked the treaty of Northampton; but he declared, on all occasions, that he was resolved to observe it during the continuance of the truce. Notwithstanding this declaration, Baliol and lord Beaumont, with his privity, and perhaps his money, were hiring foreign troops and mercenaries; and towards the end of the year, no fewer than forty-four German officers, each at the head of a small company, appeared in London, and were followed thither in person by Baliol, who now publicly declared his in-

intentions to reclaim his father's dominions, A.D. 1332. implored Edward's assistance, and offered to hold the kingdom of Scotland of him in the same manner as his father had held it of Edward the first.

Though Edward's good faith upon this trying occasion cannot be pronounced to have been irreproachable; yet no prince, perhaps, of that age would have carried it so far under such temptations. He again refused to break the truce; tho' he acknowledged Baliol's right, and tho' he did not blame him for prosecuting his family claims, yet he would not allow him to pass through England to invade Scotland. Edward, however, at the same time intimated, that he was under some difficulties with regard to the disseizing his subjects of their Scotch estates, by the treaty of Northampton, without any equivalent; and that he did not think himself bound in honour to countermand their endeavours, even if they should proceed to force, in reclaiming them. This hint was considered by Baliol, who was one of those who had been disseized, and the other lords, as being at least a connivance at their invading Scotland; and he returned to Yorkshire at the end of the year to finish his preparations. This made so great a noise, that the regent of Scotland made representations against the proceedings of the malecontents with so much effect, that in the spring of the year 1332, Edward

sent

A.D. 1332. sent a writ, directed to his sheriffs of the northern counties, ordering them to stop all farther levies, and to refuse the malecontents a passage to Scotland.

Indecision
of Edward.

The Scotch historians, perhaps with some reason, think that Edward's indecision, and shew of good faith, was influenced by his not having yet received the thirty thousand marks which had been stipulated to him by the treaty of Northampton; and which, in the beginning of the year 1332, were certainly paid him by the regency of Scotland. He might likewise be influenced by the consideration of twenty thousand pounds, which he was to pay the pope, if he should break that treaty; and by some remains of affection for his sister, the young queen of Scotland. We are in the dark as to the proceedings of the Scotch regency, during this critical period; and it is owing to the English historians that I have been enabled to give my reader a view of the history and dispositions made by Baliol for his invasion, which proved so fatal for Scotland. According to some authors, Patrick earl of March was now joined in the regency with the earl of Mar, and had the southern provinces allotted to him for his government; but what dispositions they made to oppose the invasion in time, we know not. Baliol's army, for so it was deemed, though paid by others, contained two thousand five hundred of the best disciplined troops in Europe,
and

and amounted in the whole to six thousand. A. D. 1332.
 Being prohibited, by Edward's writ, from marching by land, they went on board some foreign shipping, which they had provided at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and arrived in the frith of Forth on the last day of July, according to Fordun and the English historians. After hovering about for some days, they landed at Kinghorn in Fife, where they were opposed by Alexander Seaton, who was killed on the spot, and his followers cut in pieces.

This advantage animated Baliol's party so much, that his army was soon increased to ten thousand men; and after allowing them some days refreshment, he marched to Dumfermling, where he seized a magazine of arms, and from thence towards Perth, where the governors of Scotland had appointed the rendezvous of their army, which they divided into two bodies, commanded by the two regents. They left Perth by separate routes, lest the invaders should escape them. The loss of Robert and his two brave generals was now severely felt. The regents had no intelligence, and were so utterly unacquainted with the character of the troops they were to engage, that they believed them to be a mob of lawless banditti, who might be crushed at the first onset. They had appointed a place, where they should join, in Strathern; but, in the mean while, the earl of March was encamped

Baliol invades Scotland.

A. D. 1332. encamped in the neighbourhood of Dupplin, as the earl of Dunbar was at Auchterarder, about five miles distant; so that the earl of Mar's division was at the greatest distance from Baliol. The latter, after mature consultation, by the advice of Andrew Murray of Tullibardine (a baron who had a large estate in the neighbourhood, and who was privately in the English interest) resolved to attack the division under the earl of Mar, which was encamped in a disorderly manner on the other side of the river. By an appointed signal, Murray discovered the place where the river was fordable; and in the night-time Baliol's men had passed it with no loss. The numerous attendants upon the camp were attacked and driven back upon the main body, with considerable slaughter; but, when the morning appeared, the English perceived the main body of the Scots advancing against them in good order.

The Scots
defeated at
Dupplin.

Here, and indeed through the whole of this expedition, there is a most amazing difference between the Scotch and English historians. They agree together, it is true, as to the event, but vary as to many particulars, which I have endeavoured to select from both relations, so as to form a probable narrative upon the whole. This is the more necessary, as it will prove that the defeat, which the Scots received that day, was not owing to their cowardice, but their dissensions,

sensions, and to the want of that subordination A.D. 1338.
in command which is necessary for the success
of the bravest armies.

Baliol's army wore white scarfs round their Boece.
arms, that they might be known by one another
during the nocturnal attack, which they ima-
gined had been upon the main body of their
enemies; and even some of the Scotch-histo-
rians are so ill informed, as to say that the re-
gent, the earl of Mar, was killed while asleep in
his bed. The English were astonished when
they saw the good order, the arms, and the fur-
niture, of the Scotch army. The earl of Mar
was for receiving the attack of the English,
which he reasonably supposed would be but
faint, considering the fatigue of the night. This
created a suspicion in the earl of Carrick, na-
tural son to that Bruce who had been crowned
in Ireland, that he was secretly attached to Ba-
liol; and he not only reproached the regent
with his treachery, but advanced with great
precipitation at the head of his own division,
which was very considerable. A defile, or, as the
historians of the time call it, a hanging gap of
the moor, in a strait passage, lay between the
two armies; and had not the Scotch generals
been inexcusably blind to all the rules of war,
they must have seen the danger they exposed
themselves to in attempting this pass. The re-
gent earl, piqued at Carrick's reproach, followed
him with an equal pace; while Baliol and his

A.D. 1332. English archers, then renowned over all the world, drew up at the entrance of the defile, which was so crowded by the Scotch, that not an arrow fell in vain; and we are even told by Fordun, who continues to be our surest guide, that many of them, without being wounded, were stifled to death in the press. By this time, Baliol's men had made such a slaughter, that they passed over the dead bodies of their enemies to attack the few that remained; and without entering into farther particulars, the Scots were finally routed.

Their loss.

Such were the particulars of this action, which might be called rather a carnage than a battle. It proved fatal to many of the Scotch nobility. The earls of Mar, Carrick, and Athol, fell upon the spot, besides twelve other noblemen; the chief of whom were Hay, the great constable of Scotland, whose surname must have been extinct, had he not left his wife big with child; Sir Alexander Fraser, Keith, the marshal of Scotland, with many of his surname, David Lindsey of Glenesk, Alexander Beton, George Dunbar, Robert Strachan, Thomas Halyburton, and John Scrimzour, knights. As to the number slain in the whole, we are greatly in the dark. The English writers make it amount to above fifteen thousand; and in this they are not contradicted by some of the Scotch themselves. The nature of the ground where the battle was fought, (a narrow confined defile) renders

renders Fordun's account much more probable, A. D. 1332. that they were estimated at three thousand; nor indeed do the consequences of the battle indicate any such enormous slaughter as the English mention. Buchanan seems to agree with Fordun in this particular.

The slaughter was owing to a previous resolution which had been taken in Baliol's council of war, not to be encumbered by prisoners. The account I have given of this battle is agreeable to the general narrative of both nations, and the particulars I have rejected from either, are such as are immaterial, or absurd, in themselves. It appears even from the relation of the laborious Barnes, who compiled the history of Edward the third, and was extremely jealous of his countrymen's honour, that the fear which every Scotch nobleman had of being thought a traitor, impelled them to a disorderly attack, and involved them in an almost unresisting slaughter. Fordun says, that the battle lasted from day-break to nine in the forenoon; and that the Scots seemed to be oppressed by divine vengeance, rather than human force. Notwithstanding the resolution of Baliol to give no quarter, it is certain the bishop of Dunkeld, the earls of Murray, Menteith, and Fife, were made prisoners; and Fordun particularly tells us, that three hundred and sixty men in armour, besides many others, were killed under the standard of the latter.

A.D. 1332.

The reader cannot form an adequate idea of the fatal effects of dissension among the Scots, without reflecting that, when this bloody battle was fought, the earl of March and Dunbar, the other regent of Scotland, lay with his army at the distance of five miles from the field. This undoubtedly was one of the considerations that induced the earl of Mar (besides that I have already mentioned) to stand upon the defensive. It is, however, remarkable that, though the first attack was made in the night-time, and though the fugitives might easily have apprized the earl of March of the enemy's intention, he never moved to the earl of Mar's assistance, short as the ground was he had to march. This battle was fought on the eleventh of August 1332. It is amazing that, in it, the English lost only two knights, Sir John Gordon, and Sir Richard Pechey, and thirty-three esquires, but no common soldier.

Baliol takes
Perth.

Such of the Scots as escaped the slaughter at Dupplin fled towards Perth, where they attempted to form the face of an army to oppose Baliol's getting possession of that important town; but they were again beaten (or rather they durst not fight) and Baliol entered it triumphantly. This was a great point gained for him and his army, because a squadron of ships, belonging to him and his friends, was then lying in the Tay, with all manner of supplies for his troops; so that there was now an
open

open communication between his fleet and his army. The madness of some of the Scotch nobility, and the treachery of others, had now broken all confidence among the royalists, as no man could trust his neighbour. The earl of Fife, who, as we have seen, had been among the most forward of the Scotch champions at the battle of Dupplin, submitted to Baliol's government; and his example was followed by the wisest of the Scotch nobility. Baliol, as a mark of his confidence in this new convert, made him governor of Perth. It is probable that young David remained all this while in his capital, attended by a few friends; but those equally experienced and faithful.

The army under the earl of March remained still entire, and was composed of much better troops than that which had been defeated at Dupplin. That nobleman had seen his brother-regent, and many brave men under him, cut off, without moving to their assistance, either in hopes of having himself the glory of expelling Baliol, or (which is more probable) because, like all his predecessors, he was secretly devoted to the English; but on this occasion he affected to act in earnest. He gave orders to Sir John Crabb, the Scotch admiral, but a Fleming by birth, to attack Baliol's fleet in the mouth of the Tay. Crabb accordingly fitted out a squadron of ten stout ships, and destroyed a vessel belonging to the lord Henry Beaumont, with all

Engage-
ment by sea,

A.D. 1332. all her crew. He was, however, attacked with so much fury by the English sailors, that all his ships were sunk, burnt, or taken; he himself narrowly escaping with his life. The earl of March, in the mean while, had formed the siege of Perth; but the defeat of Crabb furnished him with a pretence to call a council of war, to consult how he was to proceed. In this council, the majority of the members observed, that Baliol's party was every day gaining strength by the defection of the great Scotch nobility; and that the earl's capital view of reducing the town by famine being now at an end, prudence directed them to provide for themselves, and to retire southwards; which opinion prevailed, and was executed, to the disgrace of the earl.

in which the
Scots are de-
feated.

Baliol now thought his party so firm, that he resolved to give it an air of civil authority, and to be crowned at Scone. Before the twenty-seventh of September, he had been joined by great numbers of the English nobility and gentry, and his success had prevailed with king Edward to relax in the observance of that good faith on which he had so long piqued himself, for he allowed as many of his subjects as pleased to join Baliol. His coronation, which was performed on the last mentioned day, gave a new aspect to his affairs; for he now had a more fair pretext than before, to treat all the Scots who opposed him as rebels. His army and party were constantly encreasing, and even the brave bishop of

Baliol is
crowned
king.

of Dunkeld recognized his title ; but I cannot find in any good author by whom the ceremony of his coronation was performed. A. D. 1332.

The few friends who still continued faithful to David, advised him to nominate Sir Alexander Murray of Bothwell, who had married the lady Christian Bruce, sister to the late Robert, to succeed the earl of Mar in the regency. Murray was an honest man, and a true patriot ; and his nomination to the regency revived the spirits of David's party. His first care was to write circular letters to all the heads of that party in the North, to take arms for the deliverance of their country. These letters had a wonderful effect, especially with the sons and descendants of those who had fallen in the battle of Dupplin. The chiefs of the families of Keith, Lindsay, and Fraser, were soon at the head of an army, and besieged the town of Perth with such vigour, that they took it, notwithstanding the brave defence made by its governor, the earl of Fife, who was sent prisoner to the castle of Kildrommey. Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, being taken prisoner at the same time, was capitally, and justly, punished for having directed the enemy where to pass the river. I shall just observe, that the vigorous defence made by the earl of Fife sufficiently clears him from the obloquy thrown upon his memory by English writers, who pretend that he betrayed his trust. Murray,

The Scotch
royalists re-
take Perth.

A. D. 1332.

The regent
taken pri-
soner.

ray, encouraged by this appearance in his master's favour, and being joined by a considerable body of men, attacked Baliol, who had advanced as far as Roxburgh; but, after an obstinate dispute, he was defeated, taken, and sent prisoner to Durham: and thus once more all Scotland seemed to be under the power of the English, when she was again seasonably relieved by a difference between Edward and his parliament.

Proceedings
of the Eng-
lish.

That prince had intended to go to Ireland; but, upon Baliol's great success, his parliament addressed him to lay aside all thoughts of his Irish expedition, and to attend the affairs of Scotland. This was the more agreeable to Edward's views, as it was accompanied with the gift of a large subsidy; but Edward by his prerogative having ventured to raise the tallages, found his parliament unwilling to second his measures; and he was obliged to defer its meeting at York, to which his court repaired, that he might be at hand to watch the motions of the Scots, to the second of December; and even then it proved refractory. In the mean time, he continued to wear the mask of moderation and impartiality between the two parties in Scotland, and had even sequestered the lord Beaumont's English estate, for having disobeyed his orders. David's ministers, from this shew of impartiality, applied to him for protection to their young master's government; but the
time

time for his ratifying the treaty of Northampton being on the point of expiring, he resolved to throw off the mask; and, notwithstanding his near alliance with David, to dethrone him. With this design, he had a meeting with Baliol, soon after the latter had taken the castle of Roxburgh; and in this interview there passed a most extraordinary scene of servility on the one part, and dissimulation on the other, which I shall lay open from records, without any aggravating expressions or circumstances.

I have more than once mentioned Edward's caution in avoiding all appearances of his breaking into the treaty of Northampton, before the expiration of the stipulated term of four years; an example of moderation, that, in those days, was unusual in princes of his age and ambition. It is certain, notwithstanding, that he was all that time privately making dispositions for following the example, and resuming the claims, of his grandfather with regard to Scotland. He found a ready tool for his purpose in the person of Edward Baliol, who, in the interview I have already mentioned, agreed to the following engagements, which were reduced to the form of a charter, dated from Roxburgh, and since published by Mr. Rymer. Their heads were as follow: "That the kingdom of Scotland, and the adjacent isles, did always hold of the crown of England: That Edward the first, as superior lord

Treaty between Baliol and Edward the third.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. IV. p. 536. 537, 538.

A.D. 1332. of the same, had adjudged them to king John Baliol, father of the present king Edward : That the said king John was, for some excesses committed by him, deprived of the kingdom, which thereby devolved to his superior lord, king Edward the first of England; but this last was hindered from the possession by Sir Robert de Bruce, who had no right. And now, says Baliol, since, by the permission of the most excellent prince, our most dear lord and cousin, Sir Edward, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, and with the aid of some of his subjects and forces, we have recovered our inheritance, and are crowned king of Scotland and the isles; we do hereby declare, That we have paid our homage to the said king of England in the terms following : The said king holding our hands with his own, we said, I Edward, by the grace of God king of Scotland, and the isles thereto belonging, become your liegeman for the said kingdom and isles, against all persons that may live and die. And the said king did receive our homage, as said is. And, for the great profits and honour accruing to him from the permission and succours above-mentioned, grants to the king of England, his heirs and successors, the yearly revenue of two thousand pounds in lands, to be assigned on the borders of England, and to be annexed to the crown of England for ever."

Then

A. D. 1332.

Then follows the oath of fealty of Edward, as sovereign of Scotland and the isles, which was given upon the holy evangelists, and in the following terms: "We will be faithful and loyal; and faith and loyalty we do promise to you, our most dear lord king of England, and to your heirs, as sovereign lords of the kingdom of Scotland and its isles, against all persons who can live and die." He then proceeds to the following expressions: "And for the great honours and advantages which we have found and experienced in the assistance granted us by our said lord king and cousin, and the great and good aid of the said good people of his realm and dominions." Baliol promises, as part of payment, to give up into Edward's hands the town, castle, and county of Berwic, with such other possessions as shall be judged reasonable, by commissioners appointed on both sides, for the payment of the remainder.

As if the above concessions had not been sufficient for rivetting the fetters of Scotland, imposed by this shameful transaction, Baliol, by the same charter, obliged himself to serve Edward in Gascony, or any where else, with two hundred men at arms, as often as required. But the most extraordinary part of this infamous transaction, and which equally reflects disgrace upon Edward as Baliol, is, that the latter engaged himself to marry the young

Its infamy.

A. D. 11332. queen of Scotland, Edward's sister, in case her marriage with David was not consummated, and to give her a jointure of five hundred pounds a year. Failing of this, he was to pay to Edward ten thousand pounds towards the marriage and maintenance of his sister; and such provision was to be made for her husband, David Bruce, as to Edward should seem reasonable; and in case of non-performance, he gives Edward a power to seize all the cities, boroughs, castles, manors, and lands of Scotland, and to detain the same till complete payment shall be made. By another writ of the same date, Baliol obliged himself and his heirs to serve the king of England and his heirs in person, and with all the forces Scotland could raise, as often as required, within the bounds of England, Wales, or Ireland; because, as the writ expresses, the king of England had obliged himself and his heirs to maintain him (Baliol) upon the throne of Scotland.

A truce.

Baliol, having thus accepted of a crown, upon terms which no gentleman would have agreed to for the possession of a private estate, returned southward; and tho' Edward's avowed conduct hitherto, with regard to Scotland, had been defensible, yet its sequel was far otherwise, as it reduced him to a most disingenuous train of proceeding. He carefully concealed the shameful engagements which Baliol had agreed to, and was so far from disavowing

A. D. 1332

avowing David's right to the crown of Scotland, that though Baliol's charter, the sense of which I have given, is dated at Roxburgh, the twenty-third of November, yet on the fourteenth day of December following, he appointed the lord Ralph Basset and Sir William Denham, his plenipotentiaries to treat with David's guardians, and other Scotch noblemen, about an accommodation. The very next day, he wrote a letter to the pope, vindicating his good faith towards David, and disclaiming his having had any concern in the revolution that had happened in Scotland; and pleading his parliament's request that he would lay aside his Irish expedition, and repair northward, that he might be at hand to observe the motions of the Scots.

Arbitrary
demands of
Edward.

Till this crisis happened, I can by no means join with the Scotch historians, who exclaim against all the prior conduct of Edward towards David. Whatever his private views might have been, history has no right to charge him with an open breach of good faith; but his behaviour from the time of his convention with Baliol at Roxburgh, assumed a different complexion. It is true, upon the expiration of the four years, he was at liberty to consider himself in a state of war with Scotland; but it will be difficult to vindicate him on the head of dissimulation, and of unnaturality towards his sister and her husband. Baliol, who seems
to

A. D. 1332. to have had activity and courage, but to have been fascinated with a royal title, acted with more openness than Edward; for towards the end of the year 1332, he granted a truce to his enemies, dismissed his army, and threw himself upon the affections of his new subjects. David's party thought they had gained a great point (as they certainly did) by this truce; but, in December, Edward, without any reserve, pursued measures that shewed he was resolved to make the best bargain he could between David and Baliol. He ordered his plenipotentiaries, the lord Basset and Sir William Denham, to demand a surrender of the town and castle of Berwic, on pretence that it had been surreptitiously taken from his father by the Scots; and, at the same time, to require David to perform fealty and homage to him (Edward) as his liege lord. The English historians speak of the affairs of Scotland at this time as if David had been still in Scotland; and indeed the precise time of his leaving it is a little uncertain; nor is the affair very material, because we are to understand, that whatever was done by his ministers in Scotland were his own acts. Their answer to the demand of Edward's plenipotentiaries, was a flat denial of any paramount right which the kingdom of England ever had over the realm of Scotland, and that the king his father having won Berwic by the sword, his son was determined to keep it; and at the same time they advised

vised Edward to observe the treaty of Northampton. Edward, not satisfied with this answer, made a fresh demand to the same purpose; and receiving the same answer, his messengers declared war against David.

A. D. 1332.

I perceive that two French agents, Robert de Loudon and Ranulph de Moor, were at this time at Edward's court, endeavouring, though without success, to effect a reconciliation between the two kingdoms; but the Scots beheld their own interest in a different light. They considered Baliol as no other than the tool of Edward; and that the provocations they had received from the latter justified their breaking their truce with the former. I am far from being clear, as to the validity of this way of reasoning, especially as it had been agreed by the late truce, that all matters of dispute between David and Baliol should be left to the determination of a free parliament. It is certain, that Baliol had so little apprehension from David and his party, that he was living in a private manner at one of his own seats near Annan, where he intended to spend his Christmas. This came to the knowledge of John Randolph, earl of Murray, who, with a thousand horse, endeavoured to make Baliol prisoner; but he escaped half-drest, on horseback, without bridle or saddle, to Carlisle, where he was received by the lord Dacres, the governor of the place. His brave brother, the lord Henry Baliol, Walter Cuming,

Attempts to surprise Baliol.

A.D. 1333. Cuming, John Kirby, and several others, were killed in this attempt, as they were endeavouring to gain time for Baliol's escape; and the earl of Carrick, another natural son of Edward Bruce, who had joined himself to Baliol, was made prisoner.

The war
breaks out
afresh.

Early in the year 1333, all parties prepared for war. The lord Douglas made a terrible irruption into Gillelland, where he destroyed the estate of the lord Dacres, and ravaged thirty miles of the country. On the other hand, Sir Anthony Lucy, an English knight, broke into Scotland with eight hundred men; and making the lord Douglas of Liddesdale (one of the best Scotch generals) prisoner, Edward commanded him to be put in irons, as a traitor. Edward, at this time, was in the north of England, and ordered all his subjects on the western borders to carry off their cattle and effects to places of safety, instead of opposing the Scots. He filled all the courts of Europe with complaints of the Scots having begun hostilities; and resolving now to keep no farther measures with David, he sent a body of troops under the command of the earls of Lancaster and Arundel, and the lords Montague and Nevil, to the assistance of Baliol. In the mean while, he ordered a parliament to meet at York, where he declared to the members, that he intended to resume his family-claim upon the crown of Scotland, and to march in person to the assistance of Baliol. This declaration,

A. D. 1333.

claration was unanimously approved of by the members; and the rendezvous of the English army was appointed to be at Newcastle upon Tyne. In the mean time, the earl of Lancaster having joined Baliol, they took a fort on the frontiers, in which they released an English baron, the lord Robert Colvil, who had been taken prisoner; and then they invested Berwic by sea and land, not being able to besiege it in form, till Edward should come up with his army. That junction being formed, and the place reconnoitred, it was found too strong to be taken by assault; and in a council of war it was resolved, that Edward should march with one half of his army, which was so numerous that it began to be in want of provisions, into the heart of Scotland, and leave the other half under Baliol, to attempt the reduction of Berwic; the siege of which was to be turned into a blockade, as famine was judged to be the only means of reducing it. The siege having now continued five weeks without any appearance of success, Edward marched northwards. His progress in Scotland was uncommonly rapid. Archibald lord Douglas had, by this time, been chosen one of the guardians of Scotland (for I believe the earl of March still held that dignity); but, though a brave man, he was looked upon as being an unsuccessful general, by which he obtained the name of Tyneman; nor do I believe that he had, at this time, an army in the

Edward's
progress,

A. D. 1333.

field to oppose Edward, who became master of the castle of Edinburgh, and the most considerable places upon the Forth. Crossing that river, he went to Dumfermling, where he offered no violence to the abbey-church or clergy; but he ravaged all the places of which he did not take possession.

Mr. Carte, a modern English historian, disputes the fact of Edward's northern expedition at this time, from the dates of his patents and letters. Those dates, however, are very precarious evidences to prove a negative, because it is well known that nothing was more common than for the English officers of state to date writs from the place where the great seal was, as if the king had been there in person, though perhaps at many miles distance. Froissard, who was on the spot, mentions the fact as I have represented it.

Conduct of
the Scots.

Notwithstanding this seeming desperate state of Scotland, her ministers and generals appear to have acted hitherto perfectly conformable to the dying injunctions of the great Bruce. The progress of Edward was more specious than solid. The Scots had secured their effects in fastnesses and other places that were inaccessible to his arms. They harassed his troops day and night with flying parties. He lost numbers by the sword, but more by the fatigues of their marches, in an exhausted country. In vain he endeavoured to bring them to a general battle; and

and he perceived that by extending his conquests, he was only adding to his difficulties and dangers. As to David and his queen, I cannot say with certainty, whether they were at this time in Scotland or not. The Scots historians speak of them as if they had taken shipping for France about the time that Baliol marched southwards. I am apt to think, from what has fallen from Froissard, who then served under Edward, and was at great pains to collect the materials of his history, that they continued in Scotland till Edward marched northwards *; and that, about the time we now treat of, they retired to the castle of Dumbarton, not only on account of its strength, but because it lay convenient for their escaping by sea.

A. D. 1333.

While Edward lay to the north of the Forth, he had intelligence that the guardian Douglas was at the head of a considerable army in the south, preparing to make an irruption into England, and to besiege Bamborough-castle, where Edward's queen was; but at the same time, that Baliol was making little or no progress against Berwic. The regent's design was to have drawn Edward from the siege of Berwic to the

Their misfortunes.

* Buchanan has been scandalously inaccurate in his account of this interesting period (though one of the best wrote of any in his history); for he is mistaken even in the name of the Scotch governor of Berwic, whom he calls Seton, instead of Keith. So palpable a blunder gives some colour to a tradition, that that historian was invincibly prejudiced against the family of Keith, because its head, the earl-marshal, refused to make him a present of an ambling nag that Buchanan was fond of.

A. D. 1333. relief of his queen; but in this he failed. Edward knew the strength of Bamborough, and being reinforced by a very seasonable supply of troops under the lord Darcy, from Ireland and Aquitain, he formed the siege of Berwic afresh, and pressed it vigorously by sea and land. Douglas, by this time, had been repulsed before Bamborough, and forced to raise the siege; and the garrison of Berwic had not only failed in an attempt they made to burn the English fleet, but had the misfortune to see a fire break out in their own town, with such dreadful effects, that they demanded a truce, promising that, if no succours came at the expiration of the time, they would surrender the place to Edward.

Siege of
Berwic.

Robert de Artois, a French nobleman, was then the chief confident of Edward, and one of the greatest subjects in France. He had repaired to the court of England to persuade Edward, upon motives of private disaffection, to invade France, and assert his right of blood to that crown; but his views in this were greatly obstructed by the Scotch war, which he therefore wished to see at an end. Edward having consulted him, he advised him, by all means, to grant the truce desired, upon Seton, the deputy-governor of Berwic, giving up his son as a hostage for the performance of the conditions, if the place was not relieved *, which was ac-

* I have endeavoured to lay before the reader this remarkable incident, as I find it according to the most creditable and consistent

A. D. 1333.

cordingly complied with. The command of the place was vested then in Seton, because Keith, the head-governor, had repaired to Douglas, to persuade him to raise the siege, which he actually prepared to do with a numerous army; the siege having now continued near four months. The fifteen days, (according to Fordun himself) for surrendering the town, elapsed, and Edward demanded possession in terms of the truce. Upon Seton's refusing to perform the condition, Edward threatened to hang his son, and even erected a gallows on the English side of the river, in sight of the garrison, for that purpose. I shall not enquire how far Seton is to be blamed or vindicated, in not complying with the letter of the truce, and in listening to his wife, who persuaded him to sacrifice his and her son rather than give up his trust. That disquisition depends upon facts. If, as modern Scotch writers pretend, the term for surrendering the place was not yet elapsed; few Roman patriots, or matrons, can be competitors for fame with the illustrious pair, who are said to have suffered one of their sons (modern Scotch writers, without authority, say two) to be executed within their sight. If, on the other hand, Fordun's relation, and that of later Eng-

Edward's
barbarity.

sistent authorities. If I differ from Boece and Buchanan, it is owing to their deviation from truth, and from Fordun, a better authority than either.

lish

A. D. 1333. lish historians, grounded upon records, are true, Edward cannot be acquitted of cruelty, though he may of injustice. The English writers endeavour to elude the truth of the whole; and was not the young gentleman's name expressly mentioned by Fordun, I should very willingly have omitted so shocking a narrative. That Edward put his hostage to death is past all question; and according to the best conclusion I can draw from the evidence on both sides, I cannot help thinking that the stoicism (or, if the reader pleases, the patriotism) of the parents arose from the hopes given them by Keith (who was now returned to his command) that the place would be relieved*; but whether that consideration ought to have determined them to act in the manner they did, I shall not presume to determine.

The Scots
defeated at
Halidon-
hill.

It is admitted by English as well as Scotch authors, that the regent, Douglas, was lying before Bamborough when he was applied to by Keith, and that he was then at the head of a very powerful army. The particulars of their

* The sufferings of the family of Seton for their country were, at this time, pretty remarkable. The eldest son, as I have already mentioned, had been killed when Baliol landed at Kinghorn. The hostage, who was executed, was the next brother: a brother younger than him (said by the Scotch writers to have been executed likewise) was a prisoner in the English camp: and a natural brother, older than either of them, one of the bravest and most active knights in Scotland, had been drowned in the attempt made to burn the English fleet.

commanders names and numbers are to be found in the notes; and I believe they are pretty exact. According to English writers, after the return of Keith, Edward agreed to prolong the truce for seven days; but on the fourth day Douglas appeared with his army in the order mentioned in the notes *; upon

A.D. 1333.

* This was the array of the Scots, when they came in four battails against the two kings of England and Scotland.

In the Scotch vay-ward were these lords; John lord Murray, who that day supplied the place of the lord John Randolph, earl of Murray, he being detained by sickness; the lord Andrew Frazer, with his two brethren, Simon and James; Reginald Cheyne, Patrick Graham, John Grant, James of Carlisle, Patrick Parker, Robert Caldecotes, Philip Meldrum, Thomas and Gilbert Wifeman, Adam Gordon, James Gramont, Robert Brady, Hugh Park, with forty knights new dubbed, six hundred men of arms, and three thousand commons.

In the first half of the second battail of the Scots were these lords; Robert, steward of Scotland, with his banner; James Stuart, his uncle, with his banner; the earl of Menteith, the lord William Douglas, David Lindsay, Malcolm Fleming, William Keith, Duncan Campbell, with thirty batchelors new dubbed: and in the second half of the said battail were these lords; James Stuart of Colden, Allan Stuart, William Abernethy, William Morrice, William Friskin, Adam Moneff, Adam Fitz-Gilbert, John Greton, Robert Walthew; the whole battail amounting to seven hundred men of arms, and seventeen thousand commons.

In the third ward of the Scotch army were these lords; Hugh earl of Ross, Kenneth earl of Sutherland, and the earl of Strathern; William Kirkeby, John Cameron, Gilbert Say, William Ramsay, William Prendergeft, Crispin Hard, William Gordon, Arnold Ward, Thomas Duplin, with forty knights new dubbed, nine hundred men of arms, and fifteen thousand commons.

In the fourth ward of the army of Scotland were these lords; Archibald Douglas, with his banner; the earl of Lennox; Alexander Bruce, earl of Fife; John Campbell, reputed earl of Athol; Robert Sterenlaw, William Vipont, Robert Lauther, John Lindsay, Alexander Graham, Patrick Polefworth, David Wymes, Michael Scot, Thomas Bois, Roger Mortimer, William

Um-

A.D. 1333. which Edward took up an advantageous camp upon Halidon-hill, in the neighbourhood of Berwic. If the relief of Berwic was the single object that Douglas had in his eye, he probably might have effected it by harrassing the English army; but his passion for fighting made him disregard the wise injunction of Robert, not to hazard a general battle, especially against such an army as Edward commanded, composed of the flower of his English, Welch, and French dominions, not to mention the chosen band of veterans that was headed by Baliol, and which, in numbers, at least equalled that of the Scots. The latter, when it was too late, found it impracticable to relieve the town without a battle; and the Scots were mad enough to attack their enemies, who were drawn up in four columns likewise, and flanked with strong bodies of archers, in their advantageous

Umfraville, Thomas Vaux, William Landis, with thirty batchelors, nine hundred men of arms, and eighteen thousand four hundred commons. Besides this, the earl of Dunbar, keeper of the castle of Berwic, helped the Scots, at this time, with fifty men of arms; and Sir Alexander Seton, captain of the town, with one hundred men of arms; and the commons of the town with four hundred men of arms, and ten thousand eight hundred footmen: for all was set upon the fortune of the battle. So the sum of the earls and lords amounts to sixty-five; the sum of knights batchelors, new dubbed, comes to one hundred and forty; the foot, of the computation of the men of arms, makes three thousand six hundred and fifty; and of the commons sixty-four thousand two hundred. The total of the whole army arises to sixty-eight thousand and fifty-five; and the sixty-five great lords led them on in four battails, as we said before, all on foot, having delivered their horses to their servants.

situ-

situation. The cavalry of both armies had A.D. 1333. quitted their horses, so that the Scots attacked on foot, and were not only exposed to the dreadful discharges of the English archers, but out of breath before they could reach their enemy. Edward perceived this, and ordered his troops to rush down upon the Scots as they were labouring up the hill, which they did with such execution, that the regent and the principal Scotch nobility were killed in endeavouring to stop the flight of their own men. After the death of their commander, the Scots fell into a total rout, and were completely defeated, with the loss of at least ten thousand men, though the English writers have ridiculously mounted their numbers up to thirty-five thousand. To complete their misfortune, the camp servants (to whom they had resigned the custody of their horses during the charge) no sooner saw their army put into disorder, than they rode off, and left their masters to make their retreat on foot. They were soon surrounded by Edward at the head of his cavalry and archers on horseback; and we cannot estimate the carnage during the pursuit, which lasted for five miles, to be less than five thousand men. The chief of the slain were the guardian, the earls of Ross, Sutherland, Carric, Athol, Lenox, and Menteith; three Stuarts, three Frasers, Sir John Graham, Sir Duncan Campbell, Sir William Tudway; the whole

Their loss;

A.D. 1333. amounting to eight earls, ninety knights and baronets, four hundred esquires, besides the common men already mentioned. The chief of the prisoners were Sir William Keith, Sir William Douglas, Sir Robert Kirkpatrick, Sir William Campbell, Sir Gilbert Wifeman, Sir Alexander Graham, and Sir Oliver Sinclair. Boece, and some other Scotch writers, injuriously to the memory of Edward, say, that he ordered the prisoners to be put to death; for it is certain, that some of them were alive many years after. The most extraordinary circumstance attending this victory is the small loss sustained by the English, which consisted, according to Mr. Barnes, of no more than one knight, one esquire, and fifteen soldiers.

Life of
Edward the
third.

Berwic
taken.

After so complete a defeat, the surrender of Berwic by the Scots naturally followed. Edward punctually performed the capitulation granted to the inhabitants, by allowing forty days, during which, such of them as were disposed to leave the town were at liberty to sell their effects, and obtained safe-guards to march where they pleased. Such of them as chose to remain in the town, were admitted to Edward's protection, upon their taking an oath of fidelity to his person and government. The earl of Dunbar and March, and Seton, the late deputy-governor of the town, were in the number of the latter. The earl was not only governor of the castle, but one of the regents

gents of the kingdom under David. Though his family, as I have already observed, was distinguished by its attachment to the English, yet the Scots themselves admit, that in his defence of the castle he acted with fidelity and valour; and undoubtedly a nobleman of his great fortune and abilities was a most valuable acquisition to the English monarch. The submission of Seton to Edward is a fact not to be questioned, and would shake the credit of the Scotch historians (who mention Edward having hanged one, if not two, of his sons) did not Fordun expressly assert, that one of them suffered as a hostage. It is therefore reasonable to believe, that Seton looked upon the ill-conducted attempt of the other regent to raise the siege as the cause of his son's death, or had some other reason of discontent, which determined him to the part he acted. His conduct, however, in whatever light we view it, is unaccountable, if we admit the fact of his son's being put to death, which seems to have been attended with circumstances unknown to us at this distance of time.

The reduction of Berwic, and the defeat of the Scots at Halidon, was considered by Edward as putting a period to the war on his part. He appointed the lord Piercy and his new subject, the earl of March, to the command of Lothian and Galloway, two provinces to which he pretended a family-right; and

A.D. 1333.

leaving Baliol at the head of twenty-six thousand men, to reduce the interior parts of Scotland, which still held out, he returned to London. Baliol, without losing time, marched northwards; but before he entered into any action of importance, he once more sent a message, proposing to David, that he should surrender up the crown, and content himself with the estate which his family had enjoyed. This overture was rejected by David with disdain. He had, however, no army in the field to oppose Baliol; and the castle of Dumbarton was the only place in Scotland where he could reside with any tolerable degree of safety. It was but a small fortress, and the English being masters both by sea and land, it might be reduced by famine. David's faithful friends, therefore, very properly advised him to take refuge with his queen in France, where its king, Philip de Valois, was heartily exasperated at the reception which Edward had given to his rebel, Robert de Artois. Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld undertook to conduct the royal pair; and they accordingly landed at Boulogne, from whence they removed to Paris.

David carried from Dumbarton to France.

His reception there.

It would be unjust to say, that Philip did not receive them with an hospitality that was truly royal; but it is ridiculous, with some Scotch historians, to extol the perpetual generosity and good faith of the French towards the Scotch nation. We have already seen how basely they were

were betrayed by the separate peace which Charles the Fair clapped up with Edward the first; and, in fact, the preventing Scotland from becoming a province of England was the main dependence that Philip had for preserving the crown of France upon his own head. The castle of Galliard on the Seine was allotted to David for his residence; but Philip exacted from his royal guest a positive promise, that he would make no peace with Edward of England without his (Philip's) consent. In return for this, Philip assigned David appointments that were sufficient for the maintenance of his royal dignity, and sent messengers to Scotland to engage David's friends in his interest, with large assurances of men and money for their support. The Brucean party gladly laid hold of Philip's offers, and signed the treaty, to which David had previously consented; the heads of which are as follow :

“ First, That a firm and perpetual alliance and confederacy should be maintained between the Scots and French. Secondly, That when the English made war upon either the Scots or French, they should both give mutual succour reciprocally one to the other. Thirdly, That if it happened the English should war in France, the Scots should then give them succour with men of war, to be waged and maintained at the expence of the French; they also engaging to do the like for them, if it happened the English

A. D. 1333.

A treaty.

A. D. 1333. lish should make war in Scotland. Fourthly, That neither Scots nor French should, for the future, aid or assist the English with men, money, victuals or advice, without the consent of the kings of both nations, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high-treason. Fifthly, That the French should make no peace or truce with the English, except the king of Scots may be comprised, named, and allowed therein. Sixthly, and lastly, That the covenants and conditions above-named, should be confirmed from king to king; and at each change or succession of them, that their pragmatical sanctions should be sealed and confirmed reciprocally on both sides."

Successor of
Baliol.

Edward Baliol was, at this time, making a vast progress. He had retaken Perth, and almost all Scotland was in his possession. The few noblemen who refused to be slaves to Edward, were attending their lawful king in France, or skulking in their native mountains; but history has preserved the names of a few brave men, and one patriotic lady, who disdained either flight or subjection. These were, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, governor of the castle of Dumbarton; Alan Vipont, captain of Lochleven; Robert Lawder, captain of Urquhart; John Thomson, others say Chene, keeper of the pyle or castle of Loudon, a small tower. The lady was Christina Bruce, who defended the castle of Kildrommey in Mar. Baliol

liol affected to despise the weakness of this opposition, and was mad enough, though he claimed the crown by hereditary right, to assume the pompous title of "Edward the Conqueror." Soon after, he called a parliament at Perth. Some Scotch historians, particularly Abercromby (after Walsingham) boast of the eminent loyalty of the Scottish church at this time; but this can only be understood of the inferior clergy, and perhaps a few superiors of religious houses; for the bishops of Glasgow, St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Galloway, Ross, Dunblain, and Brechin, undoubtedly remained in Scotland, and afterwards joined the English interest.

The parliament having met, according to its summons, about Michaelmas, all the acts, statutes, ordinances, and grants of lands, that had been made by the late Robert Bruce, or his son David, were declared void. The claims of the friends of England, natives of Scotland, to the lands which they or their ancestors had forfeited, were admitted; and likewise those of the English which had been granted for Scotch estates by Edward the first. Henry lord Beaumont, in right of his wife, the lady Alicia, niece to John, and daughter of Alexander, Cumming, earls of Buchan, obtained that great estate and honour, as having been the main-spring of Baliol's successes. The lord Richard Talbot obtained the estate of the lord John Cum-

A parliament,

A. D. 1333. Cumming of Badenoch, in right of his wife Elizabeth; and David Strathbolgy was restored to the earldom of Athol, and obtained likewise part of the Badenoch estate, in right of his wife, who was the daughter and co-heiress of John Cumming, lord of Badenoch. The lord Henry Piercy, of Alnwick-castle in Northumberland, had a grant of the pyle of Lochmaben, as also of Annandale and Moffetdale, with all the knights fees, and advowsons of churches, within those valleys, in as full and ample manner as the lord Thomas Randolph, late earl of Murray, ever held them. Ralph lord Nevil of Raby, the lord Mowbray, Sir Edward Bohun, brother to the earl of Hereford, and other noblemen, Scotch as well as English, were admitted to their several claims in prejudice of the Brucean party; so that it seemed to require a miracle to revive the independency of Scotland.

1334-
under Eng-
lish influ-
ence.

In the beginning of February 1334, a second session of the same parliament met in the abbey-church of Holyrood-house. Mr. Tyrrel has been mis-led in supposing, that Edward king of England was present at this parliament in person; but he was so in effect. He had ordered the lords Edward Bohun, William Montague, Henry Piercy, Ralph Nevil, and Sir Geoffrey Scroop, to repair to Edinburgh, to take care of his interest in the parliament there. It is probable, that Edward began now to discover

A.D. 1334.

ver the shallowness of Baliol, and to apprehend that he might be prevailed upon to forget the obligations he owed him. Sir Geoffrey Scroop, on the tenth of February, appeared at the bar of the parliament, and in the French language, "In the name of his master Edward, by the grace of God king of England, and superior lord of Scotland, required Edward, by the same grace king of Scotland, to perform and ratify all the pactions, agreements, contracts, and promises past between them." To this demand Baliol promised Sir Geoffrey an answer next day, which he accordingly did by the mouth of Sir Alexander Mowbray, in full parliament, where all the conventions and agreements entered into by Baliol with Edward were unanimously ratified. Four writs were then ordered to be made out. By the first, Edward king of Scotland (for so Baliol is called) promised to pay to Edward king of England two thousand pounds, due for the succours granted to assist him in recovering his inheritance. By the second writ, Baliol confirmed his promises to serve the king of England and his heirs abroad and at home, on the terms I have so often mentioned. By the third writ, Baliol renewed the homage he had formerly paid for the kingdom of Scotland; and by the fourth, he alienated the town, castle, and county of Berwic from his crown, and annexed them to that of England for ever.

A. D. 1334.
Baliol's con-
cessions to
Edward,

Those concessions were all that the two Edwards durst venture to contend for in a parliamentary manner. The king of England, therefore, had recourse to a personal negociation, which in effect tended to make him proprietor of almost half the kingdom of Scotland. The payment of two thousand pounds a year, which Baliol had promised to Edward, was carefully concealed from the Scotch parliament, notwithstanding its compliancy with the views of the English Edward. As it was, however, a vast sum in those days, he resolved to secure it in perpetuity. For that purpose, he came on the nineteenth of June to Newcastle, where he received Baliol's homage for the crown of Scotland. Baliol granted him, at the same time, a charter, reciting, " That whereas the said king had, by the great expence and labour of him and his people, given him great assistance in the recovery of his inheritance ; he therefore granted and assigned, for him and his heirs, unto the said king two thousand pounds yearly, in lands and rents, in the borders where it should best please him. And, in part of this two thousand pounds per annum, farther granted him the castle, town, and county of Berwic upon Tweed, with their appurtenances, separate from the crown of Scotland, and to be annexed to the crown of England for ever, by assent of the prelates, earls, barons, knights, and others of that kingdom in parliament assembled. And,

in

in farther and full satisfaction of the said two A. D. 1334.
 thousand pounds per annum, by the same assent in parliament, he also gave, granted, and assigned the town, castle, and forest of Jedworth; the town and castle of Selkirk and Etrick; the town, castle, and county of Edinburgh, with the constableries of Haddington and Linlithgow; the town and county of Peebles, and town, county, and castle of Dumfries, with their appurtenances, knights fees, and services, with all the advowsons of churches, chapels, religious houses, custody of the temporalities in the time of the vacation of bishoprics, and all other things whatsoever belonging to them; and with the subjection and government of the people in those places. To hold them to him and his heirs, separate from the crown of Scotland, and annexed unto, and incorporated with, the crown of England for ever."

By this cession, the finest provinces of Scotland were assigned to Edward, who made preparations to enter into possession. This alarmed the Scots, even of the Baliol party. Deaf as they had been to every call of honour in defence of their national independency, they could not bear the thoughts of seeing their property engrossed by the English. They saw that the pusillanimity of Baliol, after giving up one half of his kingdom, would comply with Edward, was he to demand the other,

rouse the
Scots.

A. D. 1334.

which Edward at this time undoubtedly intended, as will appear by his subsequent conduct. They had, however, hampered themselves in their own shameful compliances, and had no choice left but either to acquiesce, or to recall their lawful king. Edward's intentions were fully manifested by the behaviour of the English noblemen who had a right to sit in the Scotch parliament, and were now possessed of the greatest estates in the North, where the chief interest of the Brucean party lay. They laid hold of every opportunity to avail themselves of Edward's protection and patronage, and even undertook to bring the Scotch parliament to agree to whatever Edward should desire. Their exorbitant demands had drained Baliol's treasury, and his own concessions had rendered him despicable in the eyes of the public. All he had to trust to was the power of Edward, with whom he kept up a correspondence, and who dictated to him every measure he was to pursue, even in the exercise of distributive justice. But, at last, the universal discontent of the people awakened in Baliol a sense of his condition.

Baliol
breaks with
the English,

This weak prince imagined it was possible for him to gain over some of the heads of the Brucean party; and he inclined to favour the suit of Miles earl of Strathern, whose estate had been forfeited for his adherence to Bruce, and given, or promised, to one of Edward's

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favourites, the English earl of Warren. Edward no sooner heard that the earl of Strathern intended to apply to parliament to have his forfeiture set aside, than he wrote to the lord Beaumont, and all the English party there, to oppose every motion, however agreeable it might be to Baliol, that tended to favour any of the Brucean party, or suffer them to have the smallest concern in the government. He intimated, at the same time, to Baliol himself, that he had no safety either for his crown or person, but in his dependence upon the English, which should not fail him, if he was punctual to his engagements.

All Edward's deep laid plans were disconcerted thro' the oppressive tyranny of those by whom they were to be executed, and the unsteadiness of Baliol. The lord Beaumont, one of the greatest subjects then in Britain, was possessed, as we have already seen, in right of his wife Alice, niece and daughter to the two last earls of Buchan, of that great estate; but the possession of part of it was claimed by Sir Alexander Mowbray, a nobleman of vast interest, (and uncle to Alice,) who was suspected of being a Brucean, and had been a late convert to Baliol's party. This cause soon became a party affair, and was brought into parliament. The decision of it was made the test of what the English were to expect from their friends in Scotland; and they took a secret resolution, if they were out-

voted

whose affairs
decline in
Scotland.

A. D. 1334. voted in parliament, to have recourse to arms, and to make Edward, and themselves, masters of all Scotland. The sense of Baliol and his council was in favour of Mowbray, and the debates were so warm, that it was with difficulty the two parties were kept from blows. The lord Talbot, who had married Beaumont's wife's sister, and David de Strathbolgy, earl of Athol, who had married his daughter, maintained Beaumont's cause with great violence, but Baliol and the majority gave sentence against him; upon which the parliament broke up in confusion, and the English declared they would keep no farther measures either with Baliol or his subjects. The lord Beaumont and the earl of Athol retired to their estates, and fortified their castles; and the lord Talbot set out for England, to solicit aid from Edward, with a numerous escort. He was intercepted on the road by a party of the Bruceans, who had secretly strengthened and united themselves; and after cutting in pieces six of the knights, and a number of his other attendants, they carried Talbot a prisoner to the castle of Dumbarton. The lord Beaumont, in the mean time, having strongly garrisoned his castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, laid all the estates of the Bruceans in the neighbourhood under heavy contributions, and became the very tyrant of that country; while his example was followed by the earl of Athol, upon his estates.

The English,
retire from
the Scotch
parliament

Baliol

Baliol now saw himself ruined with both parties, and meanly resolved to throw himself at Edward's feet. He was encouraged in this by the example of his father, who had gone far greater lengths in exasperating the first Edward, than he had in disobliging the third. In fact, his offence was so small, as would not have deserved that name, had it not been for the predetermination of the English, to strip the Scots of their properties, as they had already done of their liberties. Baliol resolving to purchase forgiveness of Edward at any rate, fled to Berwic. He there agreed to reverse the sentence that had been pronounced against Mowbray, and to leave the lord Beaumont in possession of his earldom. He confirmed the grant he had made to the lord Henry Piercy of the pile of Lochmaben, with the lands of Annandale and Moffet, with all the knights fees and advowsons of churches within those valleys, which had lately belonged to the earls of Murray. He promised to gratify the earl of Athol with the greatest part of the estate belonging to the high-steward of Scotland, (who was no more than fifteen years of age, but the presumptive heir to the crown;) to ransom the lord Richard Talbot at his own expence; and to maintain the numerous English nobility in possession of the estates they had acquired in Scotland.

A.D. 1334.

Distress of
Baliol.

Happily for the Brucean party, Edward was, at this time, so secure on the side of Scotland, that

Escape of
the high-
steward.

A. D. 1334. that he had no considerable force on foot to oppose the royalists and patriots there. This gave the latter leisure for farther enlarging their confederacy; and the regent Murray having, at this critical juncture, recovered his liberty, placed himself at their head. It was easy for Baliol, by force of the promises he had made, to assemble an army sufficient to perform his engagements with the earl of Athol. The steward of Scotland was a youth of the most promising appearances, and knew that he was to expect no mercy, if he fell into the hands of Baliol, who immediately attacked his family estates in Bute, Arran, Cunningham, Kyle, and Renfrew, which he over-ran, while the steward, with some difficulty, escaped to the castle of Dumbarton.

**Aber-
cromby.**

**French as-
sistance pro-
mised.**

It was about this time that John Randolph, earl of Murray, arrived from France, and gave fresh spirits to the Bruceans, by informing them that Philip was determined to restore their king; and that with this view he had given a commission to Arnoul de Audenham, afterwards a marshal of France, M. de Garencieres, and other experienced officers, to raise men, and to transport them to Scotland; and that ten capital ships were then equipping for the same purpose, laden with men, arms, and ammunition. Murray's intelligence proved true; but the ten ships being forced, by stress of weather, upon the coast of Flanders, suffered so much in their voyage,

voyage that they never reached Scotland. In A.D. 1334. the mean time, Baliol's attack upon the Stuart estates had almost proved fatal to the lord Beaumont, and the earl of Athol, who were forced to remain upon the defensive; while two great noblemen, the earl of March and Sir Alexander Mowbray, became patriots, and renounced their allegiance to Baliol, who, by his unsteadiness, had disoblged the latter.

The great steward remained, all this time, at Dumbarton, to which he had been conveyed by two faithful friends, whose names history has preserved, William Heriot and John Gilbert. Baliol had appointed * Sir Allan Lyle to be sheriff of Air, and committed to him all his interest in those parts, which were well affected to the steward's family. Sir Colin Campbell of Lochou, ancestor to the present family of Argyle, and a firm friend to the independency of his country, had a great interest and following in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; and raising four hundred men, no sooner did Baliol return towards Berwic, than he openly declared for David, and had an interview with the young steward. Their first exploit was the retaking the castle of Dunoon, in Kyle, where they put all the English garrison to the sword. The in-

The war renewed with England.

* Buchanan and Boece are so ill informed, that they say this irruption into the Stuart's estates, was made by the earl of Athol, as lieutenant to Baliol.

A.D. 1334. habitants of the isles of Arran and Bute, animated by this success, took arms and recovered the places that had been garrisoned by the English. They were opposed by Lyle; but he was defeated and killed; and Baliol's governor of the castle of Rothsay was made prisoner. The people of Renfrew took arms in the same cause; and, in a short time, scarcely a vestige of the English interest was discernible in the west of Scotland. The same noble spirit actuated Thomas Bruce, the earl of Carrick, brother to him, who had been killed at Halidon-hill, and William Carruthers, an Annandale gentleman, who immediately assisted the steward in driving the English out of the southern, as well as the western, parts of the kingdom.

Guardians
chosen in
Scotland.

The successes of the Brucean party having determined numbers of the Scotch nobility and gentry to join them, they wisely resolved to give a consistency to their conduct, by proceeding with a face of legal authority. The late guardian Murray was a brave and an honest man; but he had not that weight which was sufficient for taking the lead in national affairs at that critical juncture; and it was therefore thought proper to put them into the hands of David's two nearest relations, the great steward, young as he was, and John Randolph, earl of Murray; who, I am apt to think, brought over a commission from David for that purpose. The late guardian cheerfully submitted to this change of govern-

government, and exerted all his interest to support it. The first act of the new regency was to call a parliament, or rather an assembly, of the nobility at Perth; but neither adversity nor success could exterminate the animosities which prevailed among the great Scotch families. They, who could separately act with the most invincible spirit and patriotism, when met together, quarrelled about forms, family precedencies, and other matters, which are almost inseparable to a feudal state, and the assembly broke up without effect; but all the members seem to have recognized the authority of the new regents.

Upon the breaking up of the assembly, the regents resolved to prosecute, with the utmost vigour, the war against the lord Beaumont and the earl of Athol, the two chief supports of the English interest in Scotland. Sir Alexander Mowbray, and the late regent, Andrew Murray, were sent with a body of troops against the lord Beaumont, whom they besieged in his strong castle of Dundarg, and reduced him to such difficulties, that he was obliged to surrender it, and yield himself a prisoner. Boece and later Scotch historians pretend that he took an oath never to return to Scotland; but I chuse to follow Fordun, who says that he capitulated upon promise of safety in life, limb, and estate, to himself and his followers; that he obtained a safe-conduct for his passage to England, with his wife, children, and family; and that he promis-

Warlike
operations
there.

A. D. 1334- ed upon oath, on his return thither, to labour for a peace. He adds, that, in a few days after, he embarked at Dundee, with all belonging to him. It is certain, notwithstanding Fordun's silence, that he paid a considerable sum for his ransom.

During the above expedition, the regent Murray was making another against the earl of Athol, whom he drove into the wilds of Lochaber, where he suffered all the miseries of hunger and cold; so that he was obliged to surrender himself. His case was different from that of Beaumont, for being by birth a Scotchman, he was liable to suffer as a traitor. The regents, however, were so moderate, and his professions of repentance so strong, that they pardoned him upon his taking an oath of fealty to David; and it is even said that he was continued in the government of those parts. Edward was treating with his English parliament, when an account arrived at London of the great revolutions that had happened in Scotland. The news engrossed all the attention of that illustrious assembly, and exasperated Edward so much, that he confiscated all the earl of Athol's English estate, for having sworn fealty to David. The difference between the historians of the two kingdoms, late as the period is, is astonishing; but the accounts of the English are incredible and absurd; for they pretend that Edward took the field at the end of September; and

to the disadvantage of the English.

and after marching to Caithness, the northermost point of Scotland, at the head of his army, without resistance, he returned by Christmas to the north of England. The Scots, though not so absurd, are equally inaccurate; for none of them, except Fordun, have any regard to dates; so that I must have recourse to records, the best vouchers of history. A. D. 1334.

There is reason to believe that, about the middle of November, Edward arrived upon the borders with some troops, in order to favour the irruption which Baliol was making in the western parts of Scotland; but a negotiation being proposed by two French ambassadors, he gave safe-conducts to Scotch commissioners, who attended the conferences at Gedeling, near Nottingham; where they had little or no effect. Edward, however, during the remaining part of the year, resided in the north of England, and made great preparations for invading Scotland, when the truce should expire. As to Baliol, it is uncertain how he disposed of himself at this time. Edward probably distrusted him, and obliged him to live under his eye; for we are certain that he spent part of the winter at the castle of Ravenskelth, in Scotland. A new invasion of Scotland

As to the other hostilities carried on by sea this winter, they seem to have consisted only of a few piratical descents, made by the English on the Scotch coasts; and we are told that Edward's fleet was disabled by storms. In the beginning of 1335.

A.D. 1335. of March, the negotiations for a peace were renewed; and Edward, at the request of the French ambassadors, gave safe-guards for thirty Scotch deputies to repair to Newark. During the conferences there, hostilities went on between the two kingdoms. Baliol, with the earls of Warwick and Oxford, invaded Scotland by the Carlisle road, and cut in pieces a party of the Scotch royalists. They were preparing to renew their incursions with greater force, when Edward, who saw that they did not tend to advance his main purpose, agreed to a truce from the fourth of April to Midsummer following, but disapproved of the plans of accommodation that had been proposed by the French ambassadors and the Scotch commissioners. by foreign-
ers Edward, during this truce, invited the earls of Juliers and Namur, with other foreign princes, to repair to his standard. A supply was demanded from the nobility and clergy of Ireland, and they were summoned to attend him with all their military tenants in his expedition to Scotland; and orders were given for equipping a powerful fleet, both in England and Gascony. The English parliament, which met at York about the feast of Ascension, approved of Edward's measures for carrying on the war with Scotland; and before the expiration of the truce, he settled his plan of operations with Baliol. These were, that Edward should enter Scotland with one division of his army by the way of Carlisle,

Carlisle, and Baliol with the other by the way of Berwic; but I am now to attend the transactions which happened in Scotland. A.D. 1335.

Baliol, before he had left that country, had given orders to Sir John Stirling, one of his principal officers there, to besiege the castle of Lochleven, which he did by the assistance of Michael Arnot, David Weems, and Richard Melvil, all of them Scotchmen, but partizans of Baliol. The castle was defended by two plain citizens of St. Andrews, Allan Vipont, and James Lamby, with so much resolution, that all the furious assaults of the besiegers were ineffectual; and they had recourse to stratagem. The castle stands in the middle of a lake, from whence issue a river and several streams, all which were dammed up, that the castle might be destroyed by the lateral pressure of the swelling waters. This plan was well laid; but a fit of devotion happening to seize the besiegers, numbers of them set out on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Margaret, at Dumfermling, but left their camp standing under a small guard. Vipont and his coadjutor took that opportunity to assemble a few boats; and providing themselves with proper instruments, they pierced the banks which dammed up the river so dexterously, that the waters, rushing out with a prodigious force, overflowed the English camp; and the garrison sallying out, after defeating the guard, carried back to the castle all the booty that

Siege of
Lochleven-
castle

raised,

A.D. 1335. that could be saved from the rapidity of the inundation. Some Scotch historians accuse Baliol of a breach of faith by this attempt upon Lochleven, because it was made during the truce; but I think there is nothing in this charge, as the truce regarded only the English and the Scots, but not the parties among the Scots themselves.

Aber-
cromby.

Generals
employed
under Ed-
ward.

It was the twelfth of July before Edward was in readiness to invade Scotland. The principal commanders of the division under himself were the earls of Cornwall, Lancaster, Warwic, Hereford, and Oxford, with many barons and knights distinguished by their military accomplishments. Under Baliol served the earls of Warwic, Arundel, Beaumont earl of Buchan; the lords Nevil, Piercy, Cantelupe, and Stafford. Baliol meeting with no resistance, (for the Scots had wisely retired to their fastnesses,) besieged the castle of Cambermouth, belonging to the earl of Athol. A fire breaking out within the place, the garrison was obliged to surrender; and the lord David Marshal, with some ladies of quality, were made prisoners.

The lord of
the Isles re-
bels.

Unfortunately for Scotland, the lord high-steward was then disabled by sickness from taking the field; and John lord of the Isles, a title of a very indeterminate signification, broke out into rebellion. By what can be gathered from the confused remains of antiquity, I am in-

inclined to think, that there was a family in the Isles, that by tradition challenged a descent from Donald Bane, who had so long resided there. Thus, the earl of Murray alone was left to stem a foreign invasion and a civil insurrection. Soon after the taking of Cambermouth, he and the earl of Dunbar, who was now reconciled to his duty, issuing from their fastnesses, surprised and cut in pieces an English detachment of foot, and five hundred of their archers, who presuming on the utter extinction of the Scotch spirit, were marching through the country, as if upon a tour of pleasure. Baliol had received from Edward the command of a body of Welch, who served under him with far greater alacrity than they had under the kings of England. After entering Scotland, they even became ferocious and brutal: the most sacred edifices were not spared by their avarice, and ecclesiastics fell victims to their cruelty. Newcastle, which, even in those days, was a seminary for sailors, sent a body of them to the mouth of the Tay, where they laid the town of Dundee in ashes. The grand English fleet lay then in the frith of Forth, where they pillaged the rich monastery of Inch-Colm of all its vestments and plate. A storm which overtook and wrecked many of their ships, was raised, as, they thought, to punish their sacrilege; and they not only replaced the plun-

Progress of
the invasion.

A. D. 1335. der, but gave additional riches to the church and monastery.

Edward, as we have already seen, had commanded his Scotch subjects to attend him in his expedition; and John lord Darcy, who was then justice, to give a proof at once of his loyalty and power, had equipped fifty-six ships, on board of which the chief nobility of Ireland embarked; and taking possession of the islands of Arran and Bute, he sent a considerable reinforcement to Edward; but, after ravaging some of the western coast of Scotland, he returned to Ireland, without effecting any thing worthy his great preparations.

Various
events of the
war.

As to the land-service, its successes, with regard to the Scots, were chequered. Sir Alexander Ramsay, a gentleman of great personal merit and family, abandoned the English interest, and joined that of his country, under the earls of Murray and Dunbar, who still kept the field. Scotland was considered by the rest of Europe, at this time, as the school of arms; and the rising nobility from the continent flocked thither to learn the art of war under Edward of England, who was considered as the greatest general, and the best politician, of that age. Among others, the young earl of Namur* and his brother led a gallant train of

* He is called by Fordun, and some other writers, the earl of Gueldres.

A. D. 1335.

knights and their followers, who were marching towards Edinburgh in search of glory, and to join Edward and the English army, then at Perth. The earl of Murray and his co-patriots, always vigilant, had an eye upon their motions, and attacked them near Edinburgh, the castle of which had been lately demolished, I suppose by the English. The action happened at Burrowmure, which lay near the suburbs of the town, and the Namurois gained immortal honour by their behaviour; for though they were defeated upon the earl of Murray receiving a reinforcement under Douglas, who had been encamped near the Pentland hills, yet they made a noble retreat towards the rock where the ruins of the castle of Edinburgh stood. There they killed their horses, formed their carcases into a rampart, and prepared to defend themselves till they could be relieved from the main body of the English army. It is probable Edward knew nothing of their fate, and they were destitute of all the means of subsistence, even for an hour. The magnanimity of the earl of Murray saved them; for he not only gave them a capitulation, but, upon their surrendering themselves prisoners of war, by way of compliment to the king of France (to whom the earl of Namur was related) he gave them their liberty without ransom; and, from an excess of politeness, he accompanied them to the borders. This compliment was equally in-

A.D. 1335. judicious and ill-timed; for the earl, on his return, was taken prisoner by a detachment of English from the castle of Roxburgh, but was far from experiencing from Edward the generosity he had shewn to the earl of Namur.

Diffensions
in Scotland.

We now arrive at one of those hateful periods, when even common calamity could not form a common cause. Sir Alexander Mowbray and the earl of Athol, with some other great men, had joined David, not from a principle of virtue, but motives of resentment; which Edward carefully removing, they at first grew cool in the exercise of their patriotism, and at last they abandoned it. * Fordun seems to blame the great-steward's conduct at this time, and speaks of a parliament that was held at Derusfy (where it lay I am ignorant). In this assembly appeared the earl of March, Andrew Murray, Alexander Mowbray, and William Douglas, who seem to have been adherents of the earl of Murray. The earl of Athol was in the interest of the steward, by which I conclude there was then a breach between the two guardians †. He was attended by a vast retinue; but though the earl of Murray's party,

* Though I have still the light of Fordun's history for my direction, yet it is more uncertain than before. I conjecture that, at the time of his death, he had not arranged the materials of the latter part of his work, though they agree in substance with the best of the contemporary historians.

† This parliament, as it is called, must have been held before Murray's captivity by the English.

by their prudence, kept all things quiet, yet the assembly broke up without coming to any important conclusion, except that of issuing orders for all the inhabitants of the open country to carry their effects and cattle to places of security. The earl of Athol, at this time, undoubtedly intended to make his terms, if possible, with Edward; and had brought the high-steward, who was still confined to his bed, into the same sentiments. They were joined by Sir Alexander Mowbray; but I perceive that all of them carefully avoided trusting their persons within Edward's or Baliol's power. The former regarded Athol as the most ungrateful of mankind; and the latter had an implacable enmity, for obvious reasons, to the high-steward. Besides those three great men, others, as the reader will find in the notes, joined as parties; and the two Edwards having strong reasons for obtaining a breathing-time, a negotiation was set on foot, and concluded in the terms which the reader will find below *.

A nego-
ciation.

* " These are the points and articles agreed on, between the council of the kings of England and Scotland on the one party, and the lord Alexander Mowbray, the lord Geoffrey Mowbray, the lord Geoffrey Roos, Dr. William Bullock, clerk, and the lord Eustace de Lorrain, having full power from David Strathbolgy, earl of Athol, and Robert Stuart of Scotland, on the other party, to treat on, accord, and confirm all points, enterparled, and to be enterparled between the said kings and the said earl and Robert Stuart, as appeareth by the letters-patents of either party.

" I. Imprimis, It is accorded, that the earl of Athol, and all the great men and others of the commonalty of Scotland, which were willing to come into the king of England's peace, shall have life

A. D. 1335.

This treaty is one of the most extraordinary that stands upon record. It cannot be said to

life and limb, lands and tenements, fees and offices, which they ought, by right, or by inheritance, to have in Scotland (those except, which by common assent should be excepted) in such manner, that all offences and misdemeanors which they had committed in the realm of England, from the beginning of the world to the date of these presents, shall be pardoned without imprisonment, or any other molestation.

“ II. Item, That the earl of Athol and the lord Alexander Mowbray shall still hold those lands, tenements, and fees in England, which they held at their departure from Newcastle upon Tyne, when they paid homage to the king of England.

“ III. Item, That the franchises of the kirk shall be maintained after the ancient usage; and that the laws of Scotland in boroughs, towns, and sheriffwicks, within the lands of the king of Scotland, be used after the old way, as they were used in the time of king Alexander: and that the offices of Scotland be administered by men of the same nation; yet so as that the king of Scotland, of his prerogative royal, may, at any time, according to his pleasure, advance to places of office men of any nation whatever.

“ IV. Item, That all those who, being in the same case with the earl of Athol, have lands and tenements within the lands of the king of England, shall still hold those lands and tenements, possessions, fees and offices, as they had them at their departure from Newcastle upon Tyne, when they paid homage to the king of England, those except (who by common consent shall be excepted;) and if they shall be impleaded for the lands and tenements aforesaid, they may have their defence and recoveries in any court according to law.

“ V. Item, As touching the demand which the earl of Athol claimeth, that the king of England would release him his lands in England, which he hath in gage for eight hundred marks, the king neither ought, nor will do that; but as for his manor of Bulind, on which the said earl laid the pledge of two hundred pounds, it is accorded, that if the said earl of Athol come within one year, and make true payment of the said money, that the king shall cause the said manor to be restored unto him.

“ VI. Item, As touching the castle and lands of Chilliham, the said earl shall be in the same point as he was before, at his departure from Newcastle upon Tyne, when he had paid homage to the king of England, and shall have his recovery by law; and the

be national, for the parties who treated for Scotland had no public authority for what they did; and yet the ecclesiastical and civil laws of that kingdom are restored to the same state they were in at the death of Alexander the third, that is, before Edward the first made his claim of superiority; but, at the same time, the independency of the crown of Scotland is sacrificed, to all appearance, that the earl of Athol and the lord (or Sir Alexander) Mowbray may be secure in the possession of those estates which they held in England. It is in vain for English writers to pretend, that this was an authentic deed; for that it was not so appears even from its title. It is plain that the steward of Scotland does not treat there in the quality of regent, the earl of Athol, who never pretended to

without authority.

the king promisseth, in good faith, to take order that he shall have the law of his kingdom, without favour on either party.

“ VII. Item, That as touching the lands which the said earl claims in Norfolk, whereof he hath charters, the king promisseth that, having seen first his charters, by advice of his council, he will do him reason. And if, in any case, any man surmise treason upon the said earl, he may defend himself with his body, according to the laws and usage of Scotland, and upon the marches; and that all those in his care have the like grant.

“ VIII. Item, That as to the pardon which William Ramsey, knight, demandeth for the trespass by him done to William lord Montague, in beating down his castle of Hawthorden, the same William shall be ready to make satisfaction in such manner as shall be, by the kings of England and Scotland, devised.

“ IX. Item, That the lord Eustace de Lorrain shall have his lands and tenements which he ought to have within the realm of Scotland; and if any man hath trespassed against him, he shall have his recovery by law. Dated at St. John's Town in Scotland, the eighteenth of August, A. D. 1335.”

that

A. D. 1335. that character, having the precedency of title; and there is the greatest reason to believe, that the steward's name was made use of by the earl of Athol without his knowledge. This is the more probable, as we are told he was then recovering from a dangerous illness, and, as we have seen, entirely under that earl's direction. This consideration, however, ought to have no weight in the present case, unless the enemies to the independency of Scotland could prove, which they do not pretend to do, that the parties treating had been regularly empowered by David. As that was not the case, the whole of this treaty must be considered as a traitorous, or, at least, an unauthentic contract, and the independency of the crown of Scotland under David as resting under the same authority as formerly. The English, it is true, pretend, that the greatest part of the Scotch nobility submitted to this treaty, and agreed to recognize Baliol as king of Scotland, but that David should succeed him, in case he died without heirs; and that, in the mean time, he and his queen should have a decent competency to subsist on in the kingdom of England. The last particular we have from Henry Knighton, who is far from being an unexceptionable authority in English affairs; but, admitting it to be true, it cannot affect the independency of the Scotch crown and kingdom. It is possible, that some of the Scotch nobility, tired out with their

Fordun.

their own and their country's miseries, might be willing to submit to those terms; but the sequel will prove that they were by no means the majority. A.D. 1335.

I am far from denying, that the vast power and possessions of the Anglified Scots (as Fordun very properly calls them) did, at this time, eclipse those of their exiled king, who seems to have been very little regarded in all the transactions between the two Edwards and the great nobility. This want of importance had a most amazing effect; for it encouraged the English zealots of those days to be guilty of a most infamous imposition, by forging a charter of homage to the English crown, said to be passed by David Bruce, in the fifth year of his reign, with the advice and consent of the three estates of the kingdom in parliament at Edinburgh. That such a charter should be forged and deemed genuine, in the days of ignorance and imposture, is not surprising; but that it should meet with advocates in this enlightened age, would surpass belief, was it not mentioned by Carte, who is among the latest of the English historians, as an authentic deed *, and as still remaining intire, under the great seal of Scotland, in the old Chapter-house of Westminster-Abbey. It is very possible that the great seal of Scotland might be appended to such

Mistakes of
English
historians,

* See Carte's History of England, vol. II. p. 420.

A.D. 1335. an instrument, because it was in possession of David's enemies; but that this charter is a forgery, appears plainly from the testimony of all history and records, which prove, that David, in the fifth year of his reign, was in France, and that he did not hold a parliament at Edinburgh till eight years after the date of the supposed instrument. After this flagrant detection, it would mispend the reader's time, should I descend to other proofs of this counterfeited deed.

Edward
leaves Scot-
land.

The agreement between the two Edwards and the Scotch nobility, illegal and treasonable as it was, evinces Edward's willingness to compromise matters in Scotland, where he hated no man more than he did the earl of Athol; and indeed it contains concessions which his grandfather, towards the latter end of his reign, would have rather died than have granted. Edward had given orders to demolish the castle of Edinburgh, which, by Baliol's infamous compromise, was his own property; but, before he left Scotland in 1335, he ordered it to be rebuilt and re-fortified; and very possibly it was with that view that it had been dismantled. He put garrisons, commanded by his faithful friends, into Perth and Stirling, which he likewise gave orders should be rebuilt and fortified; and he appointed Sir John Stirling, who was afterwards a baron of England, to be governor of the castle of Bothwel.

The

A. D. 1335
Murray
regent.

The earl of Murray remaining still a prisoner in England, and the great steward having been warped from his duty through bad advice *, Andrew Murray was once more appointed guardian of the kingdom; nor could David and his friends have appointed a more worthy nobleman. It is remarkable that, even after the late scandalous convention was concluded, the earl of Athol durst not trust his person with Edward, till he obtained his pardon under the great seal of England, in which mention is made, that all he had done proceeded from compulsion and the fear of death. I am inclined to think he was, at this time, the most powerful subject in the island; for, besides his vast possessions in Scotland, he held no fewer than ten baronies in England. That he might wipe all resentment from the mind of Edward, his first attempt, after obtaining his pardon, was the raising a body of three thousand men to besiege the castle of Kildrommey, one of the fortresses which had been bravely defended against the English, during their most prosperous successes in Scotland. The event of this siege demonstrates what I have often ob-

* Abercromby, and other Scotch writers of his stamp, say, that he was no party in the late agreement, and that his name was made use of without his knowledge. I am somewhat of the same opinion; but as the agreement is certainly authentic, and as he is mentioned in it as a principal contracting party, it would be confounding all the laws of history, should I advance it as a fact.

A. D. 1335- served, that the middling rank of Scots, however they were compelled to live under the power of their Anglified tyrants, remained firm to the cause of liberty and independency.

Battle of
Kilblain,
where the
earl of
Athol is
killed.

The castle of Kildromney lay upon the river Don, and was, at that time, considered as a place of strength. It contained the regent Murray's wife, and was defended by Sir John Craig; but the lord Andrew Murray, the earl of March, and Sir William Douglas, assembled about eleven hundred men to relieve it; and the earl of Athol raised the siege, that he might fight them on their march *. The two armies met at Kilblain, and engaged; but Sir John Craig, with three hundred of the garrison, attacked the rear of Athol's men so seasonably, that, notwithstanding the vast disparity of numbers, they fled or threw down their arms, and left their chief with no more than thirteen followers to dispute the field. As he was very brave, and knew that immediate death must be his fate if taken, he refused to surrender, and was killed by Sir Alexander Gordon, together with Sir Robert Brady and Sir Walter Cumming. Sir Thomas Cumming, brother to the latter, was taken prisoner, and lost his head next day upon a scaffold. The earl of Athol

* Fordun here mentions a circumstance which makes me suspect, that the English party in Scotland were not well united together at this time; for he intimates, it was by the consent and connivance of the lord Montague that the regent marched to raise the siege.

A. D. 1335.

was no more than twenty-eight years of age when he died; and with him ended the surname of Strathbolgy, though he left a son, David. His estates were forfeited, or alienated; and I am apt to think his name was so unpopular, that his son and relations chose other names, which are said still to exist in the northern parts of the kingdom. A few of Athol's followers, who had escaped to the castle of Canmore, laid down their arms next day.

Though the battle of Kilblain had great effects in favour of the royalists towards the north, yet Scotland continued still in a most deplorable situation. It cannot, with any shew of impartiality, be denied that the great steward, if he was not under express engagements to Edward, did not act against him with becoming spirit. He had, during his sickness, resided at the castle of Dumbarton, from whence he released the lord Richard Talbot, a point which Edward had greatly at heart, and had often recommended to Baliol. The latter, to counterbalance the loss of the earl of Athol, entered into fresh engagements with the lord of the Isles, whom I have already mentioned, and gave him a grant of the lands of Kintyre, Knapdale, Kenalbaldon, and Ardinton, the islands of Gith, Galwonche, Mule, Skye, and Lewethy, together with half the island of Dure *. The condition

* It is probable the names of some of those places are now altered.

A. D. 1335. of this grant, which is dated the twelfth of September 1335, was, that the lord of the Isles should molest and annoy, by all means, the enemies of Edward, by the grace of God, king of Scotland; for the performance of which, he took his sacrament, and an oath upon the chalice and mass book, promising, at the same time, that as soon as he should have children, to give them up as hostages for his fidelity. But even this large grant was not thought sufficient, for he gave him the profit of all the late earl of Athol's lands in Lochaber, during the minority of the heir, who was no more than three years of age. From several circumstances, it appears that the English writers are mistaken, when they say that the battle of Kilblain was fought on the last day of December.

Mistakes of
historians.

If we are to believe the same writers, the two Edwards met with no check, except the victory which the royalists gained at Kilblain; but that the truth is grossly disguised, appears from acknowledged events, the best commentaries upon history. Can we suppose that Edward the third of England, by far the most powerful prince then in Christendom, in the career of youth and ambition, would have in fact given up a cause (I mean the subjection of Scotland) to which he had devoted his life? As a proof of this, we learn from his own historians, that when messengers from the pope proposed that he should undertake, as he had promised, an expedition

pedition to the Holy Land, he absolutely refused A. D. 1335.
to enter upon any till he had subdued his enemies, the Scotch rebels, as he called them. While he remained at Perth, he issued several writs for putting the kingdom of England in a state of defence against an invasion; and, on the twenty-sixth day of August, he published an order from St. John's-town, (that is Perth) laying an embargo on all ships above forty tons burthen, and that they should be armed for the defence of the kingdom against the invasions of the Scots, and other foreigners their allies. On the sixteenth of September, Edward was at Edinburgh; and nothing can be more certain, though omitted by the historians of both nations, than that the royalists, at this time, as we shall see in the sequel, were carrying fire and sword through all the estates of Baliol's adherents, and that Edward was then secretly wishing for peace, when a fair opportunity presented itself for a negotiation.

Hitherto, I cannot perceive that the friendship which the king of France had professed for David had been of any service to his party, or that any French troops or officers had arrived in Scotland to their assistance. That they did not is probable, because the two Edwards would certainly have complained, had any such auxiliaries actually landed. Philip, however, was continually employing ambassadors instead of armies; for
while

A.D. 1333. while Edward remained at Edinburgh, he received intelligence that the French ambassadors had arrived with a commission from their master, to make farther proposals for detaching him from his connections with Baliol.

His grants
of Scotch
estates.

Edward having granted a safe-conduct to those ambassadors, removed still farther southwards to Berwic. There, by virtue of the compromise he had made with Baliol, he granted to his favourite, the lord William Montague, the forests of Selkirk and Etrick, with the town and county, and town of Selkirk, in fee farm. He likewise advanced the sum of three hundred pounds to Baliol; a proof how little the latter was considered in Scotland; and he rewarded one William de Prestin, who had made the regent earl of Murray prisoner. Far from pretending that the Perth contract was binding upon the Scotch royalists, who were then in arms, he issued a commission, empowering the lord William Montague, the lord Robert Ufford, and lord Ralph Nevil, to accommodate all differences between himself and the lord Andrew Murray, and his adherents. On the eighth of November, a truce was granted to the regent, which was prolonged to the sixth of December following; but, in the mean time, by the intercession of the pope and the king of France, on the twenty-third of November a general truce was granted to all the Scots, which was to last
till

till the Christmas following. From this last circumstance there is ground to believe, that other Scotch chieftains, besides the regent, were then in the field, and acting against Baliol. A. D. 1336.

In the beginning of the year 1336, a very complicated negotiation was opened. The truce had been prolonged to the twenty-fifth of January ; while Edward sent safe-conducts for the Scotch plenipotentiaries, who were Sir Andrew Murray, Sir William Keith, Sir Robert Lawder, Sir William Douglas, and others ; and they were suffered to have forty horses in their retinue. There cannot be the least doubt, at this time, that Edward was inclined to have restored the crown of Scotland to his brother-in-law, and to have dropt Baliol, had he known how to have retained possession of the southern provinces of Scotland. As a proof of this, a like safe-conduct was issued at the same time to Alexander, bishop of Aberdeen, John, abbot of Cowper, John Monipenny *, and others, as plenipotentiaries for David, with the like retinue of forty gentlemen on horseback. Thus no fewer than four parties, (the two Edwards, the king, and the regent of Scotland) were concerned in this negotiation ; and therefore we are not to wonder that it proved entirely abortive. I cannot, how-

* This is a ridiculous corruption of the word Maund-penny, which is the true name of the family ; the heads of which served as lay-almoners to the kings of Scotland.

A. D. 1336. ever, but be of opinion, that the authority of the regent's commissioners ought to have been suspended in the presence of David's. If it was not, it must have been owing to certain jealousies among the royalists themselves; some of whom possibly equally dreaded the French, as the English, influence.

Warlike
operations
in Scotland,

Abercromby, and other writers of his principles, for obvious reasons *, extol the great assistance which the Scotch royalists received at this time from France; and in this they are countenanced by the words of Mr. Barnes, who thinks it for the honour of his hero, Edward the third, that the Scots should be assisted by the French, when they threw off his shameful yoke. I cannot, however, perceive any reason for those suggestions, but the bare words of the writers themselves. Fordun, whom I continue to follow as my best guide, tells us that, after the death of the earl of Athol, and five of his knights, with some of his other adherents, the royalists gave quarter to all the rest of his army, and immediately laid siege to the castle of

* It is not improper here to acquaint the reader, that this Abercromby was a physician, and a profest papist, and had spent the greatest part of his life in France, where he died soon after the rebellion of 1715 was suppressed in Scotland. His second volume of the Scotch history has merit, but he every where betrays great partiality in favour of the French. Mackenzie, the author of the Lives of the Scots Writers, was a physician, and a papist likewise, and both of them were excessively credulous; but, at the same time, the History of Scotland lies under considerable obligations to their industry.

Cowper, which contained a number of Anglified Scots; but that the regent withdrew from the siege, when he heard that the truce was concluded. Besides Cowper, the royalists had, at the same time, besieged the castle of Lochindores, and the truce was prolonged to the middle of May following, upon the express condition that those two sieges should be immediately raised. As an additional proof in what detestation Baliol's, or rather the English interest, was then held in Scotland, we may once more appeal to the English records, where it appears that Baliol received his daily bread from Edward's charity; and that the English noblemen, to whom he and his ancestors had granted large estates in Scotland, were reduced to a state of beggary, and subsisted upon loans, which are specified in the marginal reference, from the English exchequer.

Rymer, vol.
IV. p. 694.

Edward employed the leisure that had been granted him by the truce, in making fresh preparations for invading Scotland. Whether the French had, as yet, sent any troops to the assistance of the royalists there, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe, that the king of France had absolutely declared, that he would support them by force of arms, if needful. Edward seems to have been before-hand with Philip. In a parliament he held at Northampton, he nominated the earl of Lancaster to head the army that was to act against the Scots,

which is invaded anew,

A. D. 1336. and under him the earls of Oxford, Warwic, and Arundel. Baliol was then at Perth, where he had assembled some troops, who were to join the English army; but by this time the siege of Lochindores was resumed, and that of Stirling formed. The first was defended by the lady Catharine Beaumont, widow of the late earl of Athol, and sister to the lord Beaumont. She pressed Edward to hasten to her relief; but, in the mean time, she made a noble defence. Besides the grand army under the earl of Lancaster, two other bodies of English entered Scotland, the one under the earl of Cornwal, who filled Galloway, Carric, Kyle, and Cunningham, with slaughter, and is said to have burnt a thousand Scots in the church of Lefmahagoe. Fordun, without mentioning this particular circumstance, says, that he carried fire and sword throughout all the western parts of Scotland, and that he burnt the churches wherever he came. The same historian adds, that when this prince joined his brother at Perth, Edward rebuked him for his barbarity; and that the earl answering him with great haughtiness, the king killed him with his lance. That some difference might arise between the two brothers, which might end in a quarrel, is likely enough; but Fordun was certainly misinformed as to the earl's dying by Edward's hand. The fact, however, is not very material to our history. We are not to forget that, during this truce, the nobility of Scotland

Scotland met at Dumfermling, where they confirmed Murray in the regency. A.D. 1336.

While the earl of Lancaster was marching towards Perth, the lord Henry Beaumont, at the head of a separate detachment of the English, made terrible reprisals upon all whom he suspected of having been active against his brother-in-law the earl of Athol. Upon the whole, the English army in Scotland may be considered now as having three, if not four heads, which Edward very justly thought might prove highly detrimental to his affairs; and he took a resolution to command his troops in person. He secretly left his great council sitting at Northampton, and posted as a private officer to Berwic, from whence he arrived at Perth, before his generals there knew of his having left England. Upon his arrival, he found that the Scots had taken the castles of Bothwell and St. Andrews, and were carrying on the sieges of Stirling and Lochindores with great vigour. Hearing of Edward's arrival, they made a general assault upon Stirling, but were repulsed; and Sir William Keith, one of their best officers, was killed; upon which the earl of March and lord William Douglas raised the siege, and retired to their fastnesses. Edward, at this time, was marching to relieve the lady Catharine Beaumont, which he effectually did; and the siege of Lochindores being likewise raised, he had no enemy in the field to oppose him; a circumstance which, however
flattering

Edward
commands
his army in
person.

A.D. 1336. flattering in appearance, had generally proved fatal to the English.

His progress.

I do not perceive that even, at this time, any French auxiliaries had arrived in Scotland: Fordun mentions none, nor do we meet with any reproaches, on that account, from Edward, or his ministers at the French court. His army, when joined to that of the Scots under Baliol, was now far stronger than any that could be brought to the field by the royalists. Marching north, through Athol and Murray, he proceeded to Inverness and Elgin, where Fordun acknowledges he spared the churches and ecclesiastical edifices, the ruins of which, at this time, raise the highest ideas of their former beauty and magnificence. Marching coast-ways through Buchan, he laid the town of Aberdeen in ashes, to revenge the death of one of his officers, Sir Thomas Roslin, who had been killed there. From Aberdeen, Edward proceeded to the fortresses of Dunottir, Kynnes, and Laurestone, all which he re-fortified, as he did the town of Perth, upon his return thither. Fordun says, that, in order to complete his fortifications at Perth, he assigned the revenues of six monasteries; those of Dumfermling, St. Andrew's, Lindores, Balmerino, Arbuthnot, and Cowper in Angus. About the same time, the lords Henry Beaumont and Henry Ferrers rebuilt the castles of St. Andrew's and Leuchars; and the lord William Montague made additional fortifications to the castle of Stirling,

Fordun.

Stirling, of which Sir Thomas Roklby was governor, as Sir John Stirling was of Edinburgh, and Sir William Talbot of Roxburgh. It is proper here to observe, that Edward, being master of Edinburgh-castle, with the passage of the Forth, and, at the same time, of the important pass of Stirling, and the mouth of the Tay, cut off the chief communications among the Scotch royalists; not to mention that the capital forts in the highlands were in the hands of Baliol's followers, particularly the lord of the Isles. I mention those circumstances to prove under what prodigious difficulties the free and independent Scots were at this juncture, and how strong the spirit of liberty must have operated in their breasts, to have enabled them to endure the hardships they suffered. The low state of their agriculture, even in its best situation, rendered them dependent, from season to season, for bread. They had no magazines of provisions. The arms they had received from abroad, under the great Bruce, were now worn out, or in their enemy's hands, through their repeated bloody defeats; and they were forced to depend on a precarious supply from France. A people under such disadvantages could have no regular meetings, and could act in no concert, but such as was dictated by their passion for liberty. Such was the power of their enemies, that they durst not trust themselves under the roofs of their own houses, and could only depend for safety upon

A.D. 1336. upon the difficulty of access to their fastnesses in moſſes, woods, and mountains. They aſſembled only by accident; they conſulted but by halves; and the race of military heroes who had been formed under Wallace and Bruce, was now almoſt extinct. To compleat their miſfortunes, Edward had rebuilt the chief fortreſſes of their kingdom upon a new and better plan of military architecture, which he had brought from the continent.

State of the
Scotch
loyaliſts.

Such is the picture I have been able, from the moſt minute inveſtigation, to draw of the Scotch independents at this time. But though they had among them fewer heroes, they had more patriots; and the great expence which Baliol and his attendants occaſioned to Edward, encreaſed that prince's difficulties in ſupporting him ſo greatly, that he ordered the biſhops of Durham and Wincheſter, and his other ambaffadors at the court of France, to enter into conferences with David for a definitive treaty. David and the king of France knew that ſuch a propoſal could ariſe only from Edward's growing diſtreſſes in Scotland. The former rejected the propoſition with indignation, becauſe he was treated with only as David Bruce; but indeed Edward could give him no other appellation before a treaty was concluded. Philip declared himſelf in more poſitive terms than ever, that he would aſſiſt David and his ſubjects with all his force, both by ſea and land;
and

and, on their account, he had actually invaded that part of Gascony which belonged to Edward. As David, though no more than fourteen, discovered very pregnant parts, Philip was willing that he should enter upon the profession of arms, and gave him the command of his fleet, which consisted of twenty-six well manned gallies. This news was excessively alarming to Edward, who now considered his acquisitions in Scotland as in imminent danger. He laid an embargo upon all the shipping in England. He ordered his parliament to be assembled, to concert the proper means of defending his kingdom against the king of Scots, and his adherents. He put them in mind, that his progenitors had been always masters at sea; and he published writs to his admirals, from the castle of Bothwell (for he had not yet left Scotland) commanding them to oppose the French fleet, should it attempt to land either in England or Scotland. All those writs are still extant, and have been published by Mr. Rymer, and other writers; but belonging properly to the history of England, they are here omitted. The pope, and some other powers upon the continent, whom Edward durst not displease, interposed, to prevent the progress of the war; and some fresh conferences between his party and that of the Scots royalists were resumed; but neither of them durst trust the other; so that the negotiation

Rymer,
vol. IV. p.
722, 723.

A. D. 1336. ended without effect; and Edward returning to Nottingham, held a parliament there, where he received ample supplies to enable him to carry on his wars both in France and Scotland.

David commands the French fleet.

David certainly commanded the French fleet in the beginning of this year, and made several descents on the islands of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey, where he made severe reprisals upon the English merchants and mariners, and occasioned, for some time, a stagnation of the English trade; nor do we find that Edward's writs to his admirals and cinque-ports had been of great service to his affairs. Upon his return to England, he found that his lieutenant, Oliver Ingham, had not been able to resist the French invasion of Gascony; but the seasonable supply granted him by his parliament, gave a more favourable turn to his affairs. He prevailed with the king of Sicily to put a stop to the armaments the French were making within his dominions; and the Genoese, at his request, destroyed all the French shipping that fell into their hands. The venal court of Rome began even to waver in its friendship to Philip and the Scots. Edward, in his manifestos, represented all Philip's pretexts of being ready to enter upon a crusade, as tending only to amuse his holiness and the rest of Europe, till he could complete his armaments, and was powerful enough to drive the English both out of

of France and Scotland, and make good his ambitious claims upon the continent. He offered to refer all the differences between himself and Philip to his holiness, and even empowered the archbishop of Canterbury to treat with Philip. I must omit the many collateral negotiations and alliances that were formed at this time, and especially the ground of Edward's claims upon the crown of France, which have employed many pages of the Scotch history, without having any relation to the subject, which at this period is sufficiently fertile in great events.

Upon Edward's return, towards the end of the year 1336, to England, the guardian, Murray, found means to assemble his friends, who took the field, and reduced the fortresses of Dunoter, Kineff, and Lauriston. The speedy reduction of those places, all of which had been carefully fortified and garrisoned by Edward, but were now dismantled, proves with what vigour the small band of royalists acted; for I do not find that any French auxiliaries had yet arrived in Scotland; and so unable was the regent and his friends to keep the field, that, after demolishing the forts he had recovered, he was forced again to escape to the forest of Platen, for so it is called by Fordun, whom I here follow. In this forest, and in other fastnesses of the county of Angus, they maintained themselves during the winter of 1336 to the

Conquests of
his party in
Scotland.

Fordun.

A.D. 1337. beginning of 1337, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Baliol and the English to dislodge them. As both parties, however, lived in a continual state of mutual inroads, the lands of Gowry, Angus, and Mernes, were totally desolated *. In February, the regent took and demolished the fortrefs of Kinclevin ; and this encouraged the earls of March and Fife, the lord Douglas, and other noblemen, to join him. Passing over to Fife, which seems to have been then intirely under the power of Baliol, they demolished the tower of Falkland, ravaged the estates of his followers, and made their persons prisoners till they could pay their ransoms. They next marched towards St. Andrew's, which they besieged for three weeks, and battered it with military machines till it capitulated on the last day of February, upon the inhabitants being secured in life, limbs, and estates. About the same time, they reduced the castle of Leuchares ; and on the sixth of March they besieged the castle of Bothwel ; and having taken it by storm, with the loss of Stephen Wiseman, and others of their party, they levelled it to the ground. Such are the particulars I have been able to give of this early, but glorious, campaign, from an unexception-

* Buchanan, for reasons that the reader may easily guess at, is scandalously defective and inaccurate in this period of his history. It is surprising that Abercromby and the later historians have not consulted Fordun, whose narrative is clear and precise.

able authority, which never seems to have been consulted by any later historian. But I am now to attend matters of a different complexion.

A.D. 1337.

Upon the archbishop of Canterbury and the English ambassadors, whom I have already mentioned, presenting their credentials to Philip, he seemed very willing to treat; but he laid it down as an indispensable preliminary, that his ally, David, should be comprehended in the negotiation. The general instructions of the English ambassadors were as follow: First, That perfect peace and amity between the two kings should be inviolably maintained to both powers. Secondly, That all towns and castles, heretofore taken from the English in Gascony by the lord Charles of Valois, father to king Philip, should be intirely restored to the king of England. Thirdly, That the said king Philip should swear never to give any aid or succour to the Scots against the king of England.

A negotiation,

It was easy for Philip, on perusing these instructions, to see, that Edward's proposal for a treaty was meant either to amuse him, or to detach him from his engagements with David, Philip therefore rejected the treaty, which drew from Edward a manifesto, addressed to the other powers of Europe, declaring the conditions he was willing to have granted to Philip, had the above instructions been admitted as the ground-

which proves abortive,

A. D. 1337. ground-work of the negotiation. These were, that he would agree to a double marriage between his own eldest son, the earl of Chester (afterwards the famous Black Prince) and Philip's daughter, with whom he desired no portion; and between Philip's son and his own daughter, with whom he proposed to give a competent fortune. He offered to indemnify Philip for all he had suffered from his English or French subjects, and even to grant a truce for four years to the Scotch royalists, notwithstanding the repeated provocations they had given him. All those fair offers were rejected by Philip, and the war continued to be carried on in Scotland. I perceive that Edward, finding Philip unshaken as to his alliance with David, gave orders to other plenipotentiaries to tempt the latter with proposals for breaking off his dependence upon France; but, after they had reached Boulogne, they were countermanded, though for what reason does not clearly appear. It is, however, certain, that Edward, by his money and intrigues, had by this time formed a powerful confederacy among the princes of the continent against Philip. The lord William Montague, then earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Huntingdon, were his chief agents in those negotiations; and being escorted, when at sea, by a strong squadron, they took two Flemish ships, carrying an hundred and fifty Scotch officers, and fifteen thousand

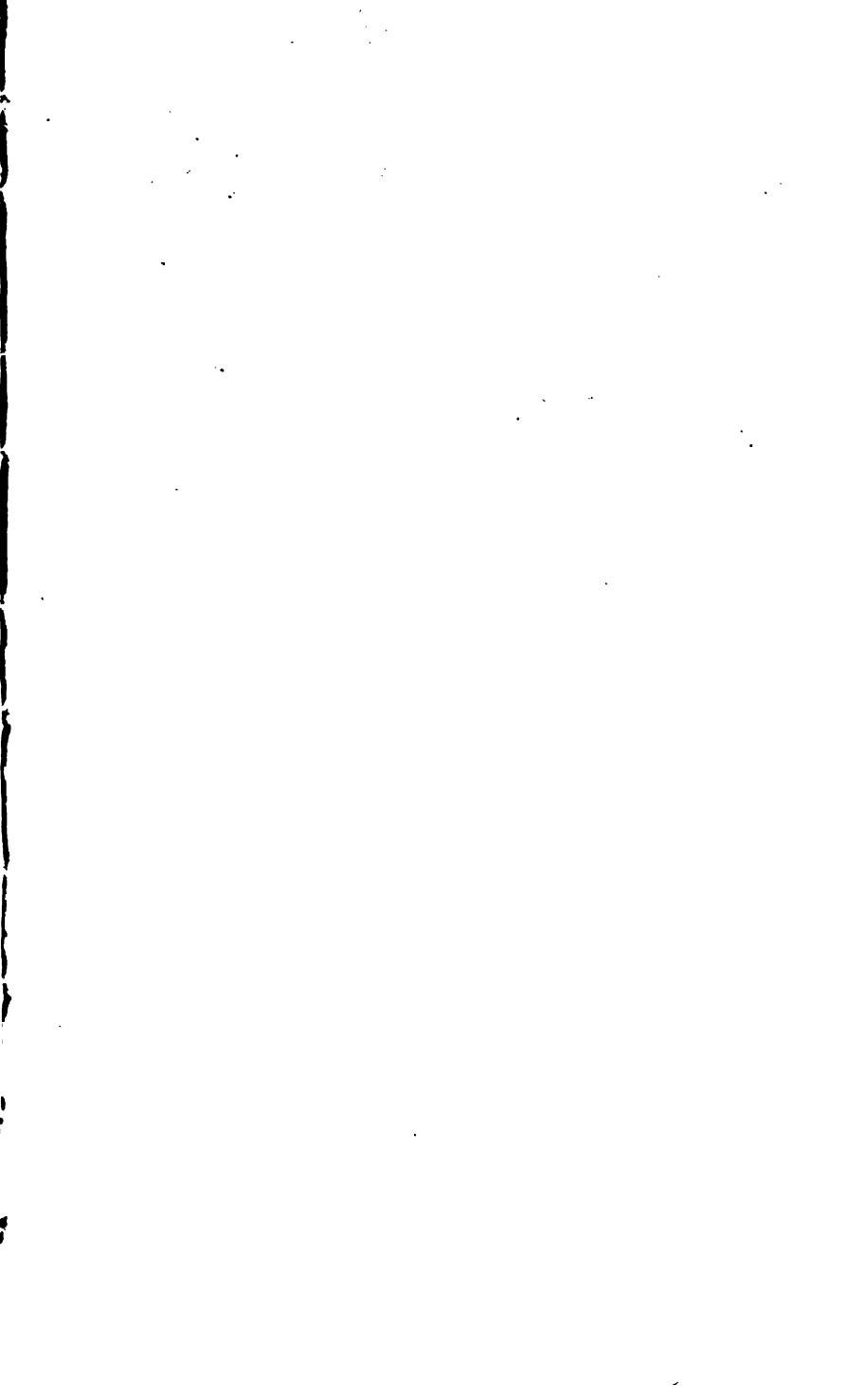
land pounds in money and provisions, for the royalists of Scotland. Those ships must have made some defence, as the bishop of Glasgow, who was made prisoner in one of them, died of his wounds after he landed at Sandwich. This loss did not discourage the regent and his party, who seem to have kept the field after the reduction of Bothwell. They heard, that an army of the English and Baliolists were marching against them, under the command of the lord Henry Montfort; and they resolved to attack them at Panmure in Angus. This they performed with so much resolution, that the lord Henry Montfort was killed, and of his army, which consisted of four thousand, a few only escaped being put to the sword. The consequence of this victory was the reduction by the Bruceans of all the places their enemies held. But we are now to attend the war in the more southerly parts.

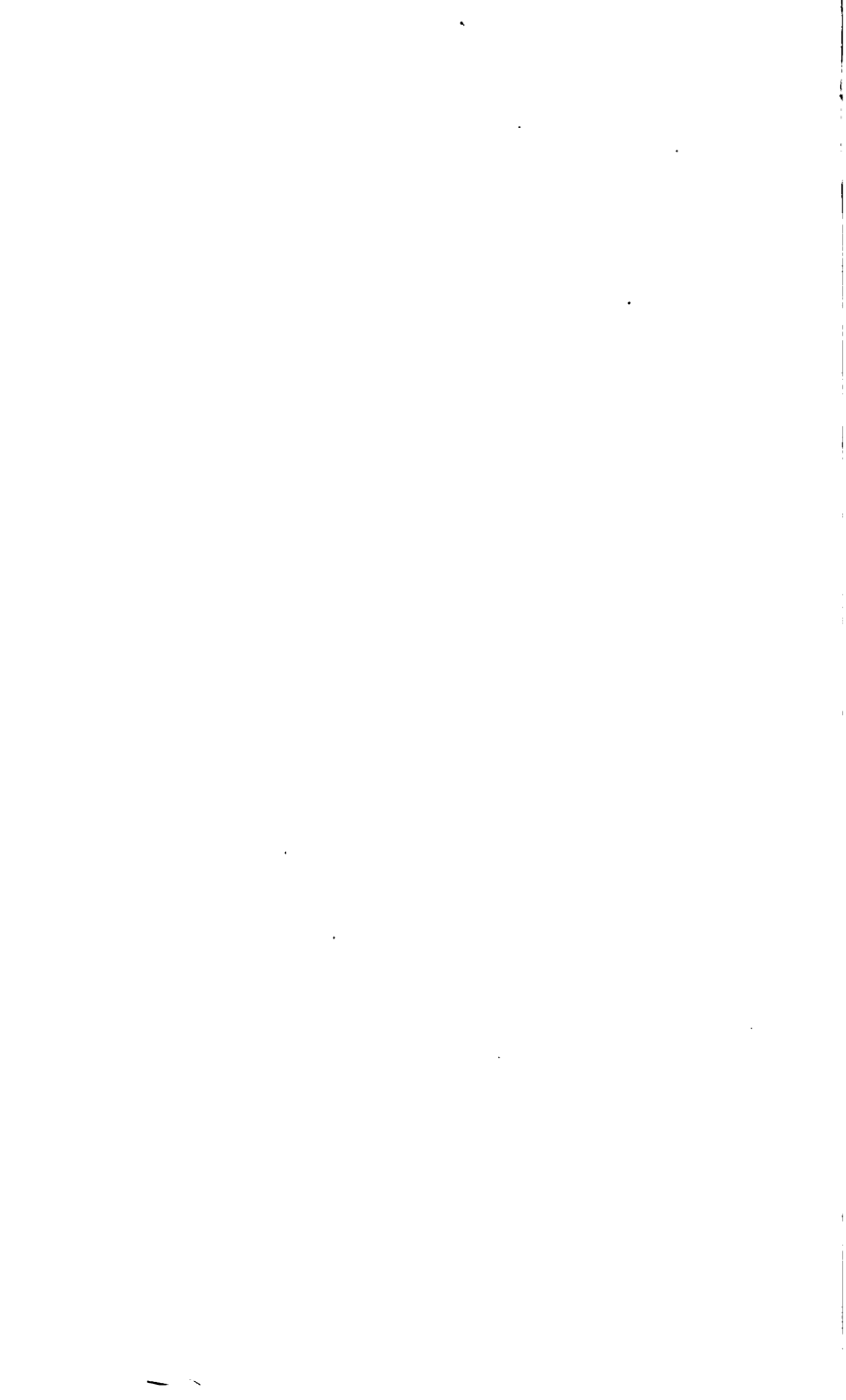
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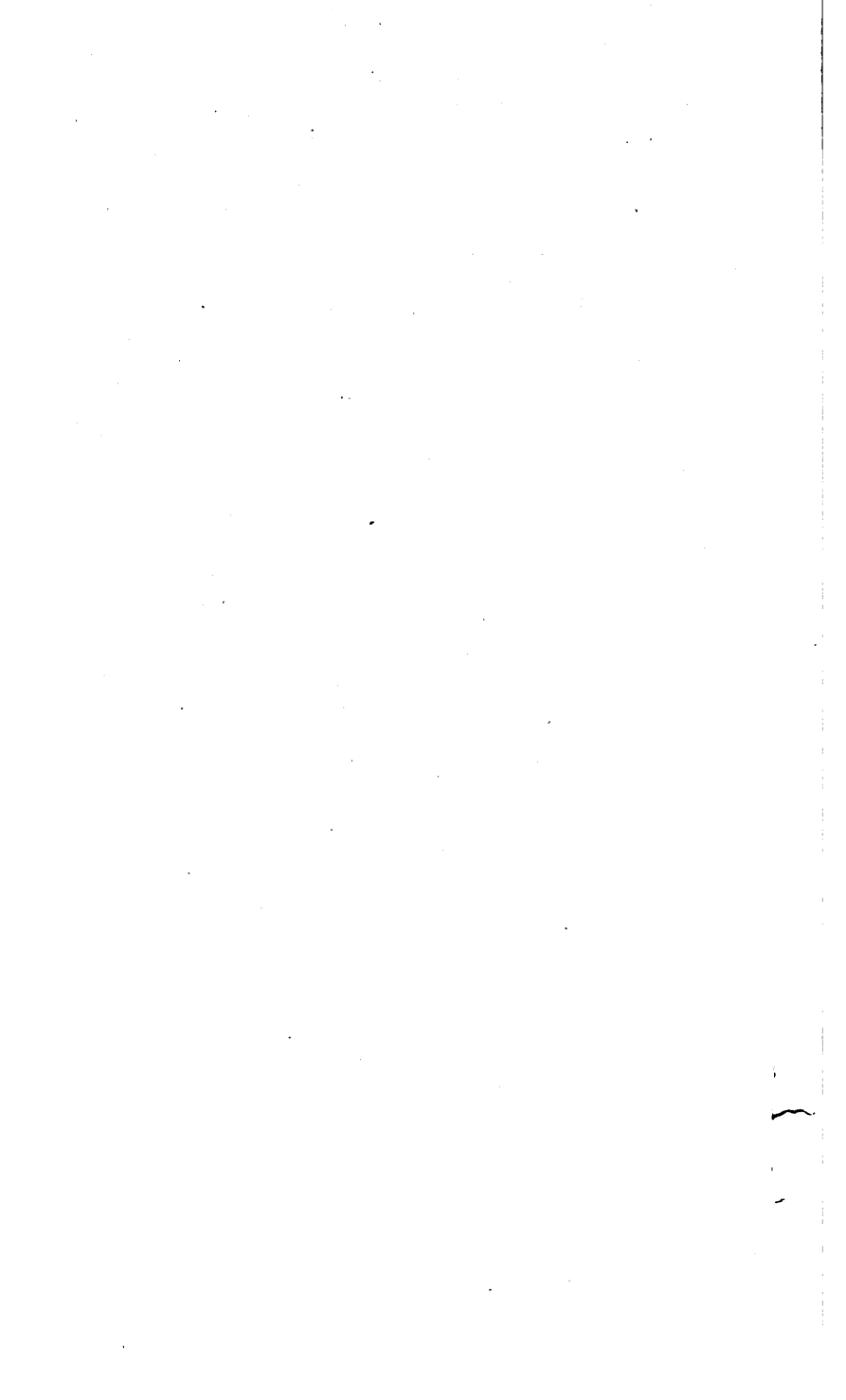
The
Bruceans
victorious.

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